HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Two Cases Exposed in One Week

Red Spying Is Still a Big Business

By JERRY GREENE in the New York *Daily News*

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The double-barreled explosion of two top-flight spy cases here in Washington, D.C., within 24 hours served as a grim reminder that it can happen here, and it does.

The indictment and arrest on July 13 of retired Army Lt. Col. William Henry Whalen on charges which could bring a death penalty and the expulsion order the next day for Czech diplomat Jiri Opatrny were not directly related.

The common link between the cases was communism. Whalen was accused of selling top defense secrets to the Russians; the Red envoy from Czechoslovakia was suckered into a ruinous position by an alert State Department employe operating under the direction of the FBI for four years.

Opatrny and his predecessor, Zdenek Pisk, now at the United Nations, have diplomatic immunity and cannot be prosecuted. Whatever the outcome, Whalen faces dark days, and a trial which cannot help but surpass fiction. For him, it is a matter of life or death.

Details of the slick job of counter-espionage pulled on the Czechs by the FBI and the State Department's Frank John Mrkva were released because there can be no prosecution. The story of the four years of recruiting, employment as a double agent and exposure explains why the government waited three years to indict and arrest Whalen. The federal agents were sweating it out, to determine whether further contact might be made by the Russians.

Retired Army Lt. Col. William H. Whalen, formerly assigned to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, leaves court after he was arraigned on charges of conspiracy to deliver defense information to the Soviet Union.

The State Department's Frank J. Mrkva (left) acted as a double agent with the approval of the FBI. Two Czech diplomats, Jiri Opatrny and Zdenek Pisk, from top to bottom at right, had asked Mrkva to install an electronic bugging device in a State Department office. Zdenek and Pisk have diplomatic immunity since they are at the United Nations.

There is little of the fictional slapdash in real spy work, or among the counterspies. It is slow, hard work. It can be dangerous, and it requires the patience of a Job.

The case against the Czechs and the charges against Whalen provide classic examples of the modern spy at work. No question of ideology has been raised. These, as revealed by the State Department's dramatic announcement and by the counts in the Whalen indictment, were simply matters of recruitment for money.

This, too, was the motive in the sensational affair of the Swedish Col. Stig Wennerstrom in 1963 when a confession disclosed that the former air attache in Washington used meetings at the Pentagon to pass American secrets to the Soviets.

The average spy is an attache of the embassy of his country. He finds a government employe of the country where he is assigned who has a weakness for ideology, money or sex. He cultivates the employe and encourages the weakness, and recruits him as an agent.

While the armed services have their own counter-intelligence units, the bulk of the spy-catching work in the United States is the responsibility of the FBI. Little or nothing is said about the activities until there is an arrest or an expulsion, but it is safe to assume that there is never a moment when counter-espionage operations are not underway.

Under the CIA, now headed by Richard Helms, the spy-catching business is left to the FBI.

Certainly this is true in Washington and in New York, where Iron Curtain embassies and U.N. staffs provide ample cover for scores of spies who are relentless in pursuit of their trade. One of them trapped here a few years ago was recognized as one of the friendliest and best chess players in the National Press Club.

The case of Col. Wennerstrom, a darling of the cocktail circuit when he was turning the Pentagon into a sieve for the Russians, was ample proof that even diplomats of friendly nations can't be given a full and free pass by the counter-espionage people.

The seriousness of the Communist spy work in this country has been increasingly obscured in past months by things such as the Dominican Republic and Viet Nam. Indeed, the deluge of romantic spy thrillers overflowing the country from all directions has served, unfortunately, somewhat as an opiate.

It is perhaps for a sound purpose that the FBI and the State Department—these affairs are never broken without the careful scrutiny and approval of State—chose to break the Whalen and the Czech case now. There is a warning here that all of the nation's potential troubles do not lie across the Pacific, and other dangers must be kept in mind.

Only a few days ago, Under Secretary of State George Ball sounded a quiet note of caution in a television appearance when he was asked about the condition of relations now between East and West.

Ball said he did not see any immediate prospects of an East-West war. But, he added: "We have to remember that it was only three and a half years ago that we were faced with a missile crisis. It was only five years ago that we were faced with the conflict over Berlin. I wouldn't rule out at all the possibility that we can get another moment of great tension where the prospects of war might be real. I don't think that a prudent government rules out this possibility."

The Russians don't rule it out either. A translation, just arrived, of a recent article in *Red Star* by Soviet Defense Minister R.Y. Malinovsky reeked of anti-American vitriol.

Marshal Malinovsky began his discourse in a comparatively mild manner by sneering at the failure of the "imperialists" to "reconcile themselves with the victorious march of the Soviet Union to communism, the building of socialism in the people's democracies, the spread of the liberation struggle of the peoples."

He then paid respects to the Americans in Viet Nam as "transoceanic brigands" before turning to the question of Europe.

"One should not forget Europe," Malinovsky wrote. "The embers of the last war continue to smolder here, and could kindle the fire of a new, nuclear war, even more destructive and catastrophic in its aftermath."

This, of course, is old stuff. But no one can be sure how new it may have become by now, or might be by tomorrow. They don't keep spies busy here just for amusement purposes.

Watch Out!

LIBERALS AT WORK

See page 11
to find out what they're doing.

Your Taxes Go to Arab Radicals

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Trohan on Arthur Sylvester

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● The AFL-CIO's political arm, COPE, which is now marshalling its forces to defeat Ronald Reagan in California, has devoted the full four pages of its July 11 memo trying to link Ronald Reagan with hatemonger Gerald L. K. Smith. One boxed item reads: "Far-out rightist Gerald L. K. Smith found Reagan's pitch right down the alley for his readers. . . ."

● The COPE memo, described by one Republican as one of the "sleaziest smears yet," also tries to link Young Americans for Freedom and **Human Events** with Smith, though YAF and **Human Events** have often denounced this hate peddler. Nevertheless, in a blatant example of the "guilt by association" technique liberals are always accusing conservatives of using, another boxed COPE item reads: ". . .Following is a list of some who spread the Reagan word: Young Americans for Freedom, **Human Events,** Gerald L. K. Smith. . . ."

● Democratic politicos in Washington are "worried sick" about the sentiment in the small Iowa county of Palo Alto. Why their worry? A survey of voters reveals the townspeople, who have been on the winning side in every presidential election in this century, would favor a Republican over LBJ if a vote were held today.

● Hanson W. Baldwin, military editor of the New York **Times,** reports that American military experts are increasingly concerned about Soviet progress in strategic nuclear missiles. Not only are the Soviets reportedly closing the missile gap with the United States, says Baldwin, but the Administration has no plans to increase the number of land-based ICBMs in the next five years.

● Rep. Charles M. Teague (R.-Calif.) says the Rural Electrification Administration is trying to set up a new system of financing which would "leave Congress virtually no control over its limitations." Uncle Sam would put up $750 million so that the REA co-ops could compete with investor-owned, taxpaying power companies. The REA gets a 2 per cent interest rate, while the government is paying up to 5.75 per cent for the money it borrows. The taxpayer makes up the difference between REA interest and the rate the government has to pay to borrow the money to lend to REA. Teague says: "Today 99 per cent of the nation's farms have electric service." Yet the REA continues to expand.

● Hospital spokesmen are complaining about the "soaring" amount of paperwork since Medicare went into operation. Clerical workloads are increasing "substantially," they say, "because of five new and very detailed forms" to be filled out for each Medicare patient.

● That "minimum guaranteed annual income" plan is now being pushed by a top aide to anti-poverty chieftain Sargent Shriver. Joseph A. Kershaw, research director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, says he's for the idea and "would like to nudge it along." A good part of the United States, he disdainfully insists, "still thinks welfare is coddling people . . . and the thing to do is kick em and make 'em go to work."

● Correspondent William McGaffin of the Chicago **Daily News** has charged that LBJ is a "man who cannot resist the itch to manipulate and manage the news." McGaffin accused the President of "twisting out of shape" the White House press conference in which inquiring reporters could question the Chief Executive. Instead of the traditional conference, Johnson holds "informal" meetings with the White House regulars, none of whom can afford to alienate LBJ by asking difficult or potentially embarrassing questions.

● Rep. Charles Gubser (R.-Calif.) reports that the United States has invested more than $846 million in military facilities located in France since World War II. France has received U.S. gifts and credits totaling $11 billion, and $4 billion in direct Marshall Plan aid. "Now President de Gaulle shows his gratitude for all this assistance by demanding gold for all French credits in the U.S. while still owing us more than $6.7 billion," Gubser notes.

● Donald Ledbetter, secretary of the National Association of Postal Supervisors, has charged that politics, not merit, motivates the promotions of many employes in the Post Office to supervisory jobs.

● Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) last week announced his opposition to the Administration's multi-billion-dollar foreign aid bill, insisting it is the "worst one yet" in his six years in Congress. "I believe the American people should know that the President is requesting this year the largest authorization in the history of the foreign aid program," Roudebush said. "This is incredible in view of the fact we are fighting a full-scale war in South Viet Nam, runaway inflation is driving prices sky-high here at home and only last week the President bragged about his 'restraint' in holding down the annual deficit to $4 billion."

● The Communist **Worker** of July 12 has highlighted New York Mayor John Lindsay's opposition to the U.S. bombing in North Viet Nam. Lindsay continues to think we should spend less on winning the war and more on rebuilding American cities.

● This week, Young Americans for Freedom will sponsor a Student Leadership Conference at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pa. Several hundred college YAF members are expected to attend the training school which will feature such well-known conservative spokesmen as Dr. Philip Crane, William F. Buckley Jr., Fulton (Buddy) Lewis III, Ernest Van den Haag and Dr. Anthony Bouscaren. One of the principal topics under discussion at the conference will be the most effective manner to counteract the activities of the campus Left.

● The executive board of the Young Democratic Clubs of Wisconsin has adopted a resolution calling for an "immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Viet Nam and a negotiated peace to include all parties directly concerned."

● Anti-poverty officials in Washington have refused a diploma to an outstanding graduate of a program for high school dropouts. Reason: The young man criticized certain aspects of the program, charging that many students were dropping out because of a lack of books and teachers.

● The Agency for International Development announced last week that it has authorized a $150-million loan to support India's new "economic liberation program." The Indians, who have thus far received more than $6 billion in American aid, consistently oppose the United States in the United Nations.

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New State Department 'Softie'

Hard-line anti-Communists in the Nation's Capital are anything but pleased with the appointment of Robert R. Bowie as State Department counselor, making him a top assistant to Secretary Dean Rusk. The 56-year-old Bowie, a Harvard professor of international relations, held influential positions in the State Department during the Eisenhower years, rising from policy planning chieftain to assistant secretary of state. He was also a member of the all-important National Security Council. He left the government in 1957.

BOWIE

Former staffers on the National Security Council regard Bowie as a "soft-liner" with Socialist tendencies. These staffers insist that Bowie quietly pushed for the following policies, even though he has publicly denied advocating some of them:

- Recognition of Communist China and its admission to the United Nations.
- Trade with Communist China.
- Chiang Kai-shek's abandonment of the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu.
- Expanded East-West trade.
- A drastic reduction of American military power on the European continent.
- Large-scale economic aid to Tito.
- A downgrading of our nuclear capacity.

When Bowie was appointed assistant secretary of state in 1956, he came in for some sharp grilling by then Sen. William F. Knowland of California before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Bowie denied that he favored admission of Communist China to the United Nations, but suggested he would favor its admission if this were a way to prevent Nationalist China from being kicked out. He also suggested he was not in favor of using pressure to prevent our allies from trading with Communist China.

When the Nationalists in June 1954 captured the Soviet oil tanker *Tuapse*, which was then sending oil to Shanghai for delivery to Red China, Bowie reportedly wanted to compel the Nationalists to send the *Tuapse* back to the Soviets. The Nationalists never did.

On July 10, 1956, Bowie addressed a group of Communist bankers who were meeting with their capitalist counterparts in New Brunswick, N. J., in a sort of cultural exchange program. Bowie, who apparently is enthralled with Socialistic systems, forecast that the Soviet Union and its satellites would forge ahead of Western European economic output within the next two decades. "We would be most unwise," he said, "to ignore the material results they have achieved."

Official government figures a decade later, however, reveal that Western Europe's free enterprise growth is far outstripping Communist economic progress.

In a collection of essays called *Shaping the Future*, published by the Columbia University Press in 1964, Bowie reveals he is opposed to annual congressional review of our foreign aid program and would like to channel our aid through international agencies such as the United Nations Special Fund, an organization which recently was exposed for spending our money in Castro's Cuba and Communist Poland. Hence, the unhappy faces among anti-Communist veterans in Washington.

Tigar Tale Ended

Human Events learns from Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan's office that the controversial University of California law school graduate, Michael Tigar, who had been scheduled to work for Brennan in the position of law clerk this summer, will not be working for the justice after all. (Brennan has also sent a note to this effect to Republican Reps. James B. Utt of California and Ross Adair of Indiana.

Brennan's office did not give a reason for the change in plans, but it is known that the Supreme Court justice became concerned after several news stories revealed Tigar's past radical associations. Apparently the Boalt law school faculty in Berkeley, which had recommended Tigar for the job, had not fully informed Brennan of these associations.

Human Events had detailed Tigar's background in its June 25 issue, culling the information largely from reports of the California Senate Factfinding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, and then conveyed the story to Brennan's office. We were unable

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

to reach Tigar for comment, since he was away on a vacation.

Conservatives on Capitol Hill are pleased with the fact that Tigar will not be working for Brennan. They did not believe that Tigar, a brilliant law student, should have been penalized solely for holding liberal views, but they felt that his continual association and support of far-left radicals disqualified him from an influential Supreme Court clerkship.

Morse Knocks Machinists

Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) stunned his colleagues last week by indicting the striking airline mechanics for irresponsibility. Morse, usually an errand boy for Big Labor, cited facts and figures to debunk union arguments that the airlines can afford to meet labor's inflationary demands. Morse agreed that the last two years have been good ones for the airlines. But during the preceding eight years, from 1956 to 1963, he pointed out, their average return was 5.1 per cent, which "is anything but excessive."

MORSE

During the entire decade, 1955-65, manufacturing companies earned 4.5 per cent more on investment than did the airlines, Morse continued. And not all the airlines did as well as the average. Among the five struck carriers, one barely broke even in 1960 and had substantial losses in 1961, 1962 and 1963. Another lost money in 1956, 1961 and 1962. Another lost money in 1960 and barely broke even in 1961.

"After their long lean years, the airlines need to earn decent profits to get ready for the tremendous investments that lie ahead," Morse said. "The newer jets that are around the corner may ultimately prove to be a profitable investment for the airlines and a boon to the consumers.

"But before that profit can be earned and before consumers can receive the bonus of lower fares, a gigantic investment will be required."

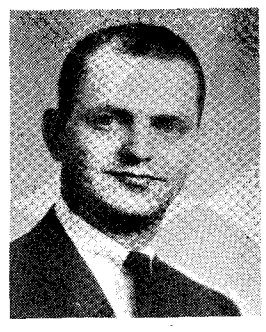
Morse charged that the airlines mechanics are currently receiving higher wages than those paid in comparable industry and charged union leaders with deceit:

"It is easy for union leaders to go before lodge meetings and merely tell the union members about the profits the companies have made in the past two years; but say not one word about some of the losses that many of the companies have suffered in the last 10 years; not one word about the fact that the total average earnings of the airline companies in the last 10 years has been substantially less than those for American industry as a whole; not one word to the members of the ranks about the efforts to keep the American airline industry on a sound financial basis.

"These are controlling facts which the members should know about. When the members of the unions come to know these facts they will not be so enthusiastic as they are at the present time about fighting the strike to a finish, so to speak, by trying to force a capitulation on the part of the managers."

The McCornack Outrage

Liberal Republican attempts to discredit the conservative Young Republican National Federation continue unabated. Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) has been noisily saying that conservatives are damaging GOP harmony and other "progressive" party pros have been echoing this line. Last week, liberal District of Columbia YR President Reuben McCornack sharply attacked the conservative YRNF chairman, Tom Van Sickle, in a letter which, as an exercise in political vituperation, approaches the famed Scranton letter to Barry Goldwater at the height of the 1964 GOP convention.


VAN SICKLE

McCornack, himself a water boy for GOP liberals, had been instructed by the DCYR membership to commend the administration of Van Sickle. Instead, in a clear breach of faith, McCornack lashed out at Van Sickle, a Kansas state senator, saying, " . . . Your administration's performance . . . has been among the worst in all of YR history." McCornack listed two major points, among others: Van Sickle's handling of the so-called "Rat Finks" in New Jersey and what McCornack claimed were attempts to divide the GOP and damage the senior party.

In fact, the national federation had indeed investigated the incident, but because of conflicting testimony and internal squabbles in the New Jersey YRs, nothing has yet been conclusively proved.

McCornack also blamed the YRNF for attempting to pass a "crackpot resolution on Rhodesia" at DCYR meetings. The truth is that the YRNF had absolutely nothing to do with the Rhodesian resolution, which was, actually, a mild proposal of support of Ian Smith's regime offered by some members in the local DC Young Republicans.

McCornack further took Van Sickle to task for dividing the party. Picking about the silliest issue he could find, he attacked the replacement of a fighting elephant by a blue and red star as the new symbol for the national YRs (this change was approved by the national YR board of directors a year ago).

Indeed, Reuben McCornack is a strange person to be blaming others for dividing the Republican party. The letter, which incidentally was released to the press and wire services and dutifully reported in the ultra-liberal Washington *Post*, reflects the rule-or-ruin attitude of McCornack and his senior party counterparts.

Some veteran observers of the GOP scene think McCornack, until recently an assistant to Sen. Frank Carlson (R.-Kan.), is using his DCYR office as the base from which to launch the expected all-out drive to capture the national federation for the Javits-Scott-Truax axis. For the District of Columbia Young Republican Club is no run-of-the-mill organization. It is the largest YR club in the nation and, since it is located in Washington, it has a higher percentage of congressional aides and people who are generally more savvy politically, thus heightening its influence.

If McCornack has future ambitions, his record to date should alarm not only conservatives but "moderate" Republicans as well.

He was on the Republican National Committee payroll as chairman of the National Student Leadership Conference, an organization set up, insiders believe, to undercut YRNF activities. Supposedly, when conservatives learned of the true reason for the parallel group, they squawked; the plan and Mc-

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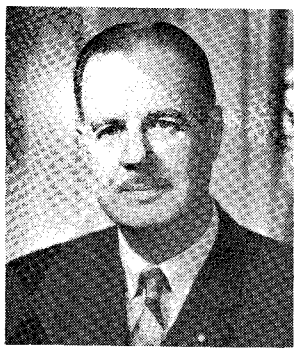


Sens. Scott and Javits want to control YRs.

Cornack were shelved. Later, after McCornack moved to Washington from his native Kansas, he was elected president of the DCYRs in a hotly contested election replete with irregularities.

During his tenure in the DCYRs, McCornack has embarked on a number of ventures which have left conservatives cold. Anonymous mailings have been sent out attacking conservatives and charges of curious financial dealings have been made against the "McCornack Team."

In a recent move, McCornack single-handedly enlisted the DCYRs as part of Youth Organizations United (YOU), a coalition to promote home rule for the District of Columbia. Other members of YOU include: American for Democratic Action, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Young Democrats. YOU, headed by Lonnie King, head of the Young Democrats and a former Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee militant, featured speakers such as James Farmer, professional liberal Joseph L. Rauh Jr. and Julian Bond, the peacenik who was denied his seat in the Georgia legislature for his anti-Viet Nam war position.

Under pressure from senior GOP party pros, McCornack has quietly pulled the DCYRs out of this liberal coalition, but it is an indication of what to look for from McCornack in the future.

Washington conservative Republicans find it ironic that this is the man who now accuses Tom Van Sickle of "flaunting everything Republican."

The Old Dominion

The Democratic primary election in Virginia last week (barring a change in any recount) has produced some startling changes in both the Old Dominion and the U.S. Congress, and there is little doubt that the liberals have benefited from the results. But just how wild the "winds of change" are blowing through this confederate state remains open to question. The immediate advantage to the liberals appears obvious:

Sen. A. Willis Robertson (D.-Va.), the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee and an old-line conservative, was defeated by less than 1,000 votes by his more liberal challenger, William B. Spong Jr. "Judge" Howard Smith, the veteran conservative chieftain of the House Rules Committee, was also beaten in a cliff-hanger (less than 700 votes) in the 8th Congressional District by liberal state legislator George C. Rawlings. And Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr., in a land where the Byrd name is legendary, just managed to eke out a victory over the liberal Armistead Boothe. Byrd Jr. captured just 51 per cent of the vote.

The apparent defeat of Robertson and Smith has also changed the power structure in the Congress in favor of the liberals. If the Robertson defeat sticks, that will remove the chairmanship of the powerful Banking and Currency Committee from conservative hands. Sen. John Sparkman (D.-Ala.) is heir apparent to Robertson's present post, but should he lose in the November election to Republican challenger John Grenier, the even more liberal Paul Douglas (D.-Ill.) would command the committee. Should Douglas also lose to "Chuck" Percy, the liberal Sen. William Proxmire will be in line for the job.

Judge Smith's loss still leaves the chairmanship of the Rules Committee in conservative hands as Rep. William Colmer (D.-Miss.) is heir apparent to the job, but the committee vacancy left by Smith, assuming the Democrats retain their majority in Congress after November, will undoubtedly be filled by a more liberal Democrat.

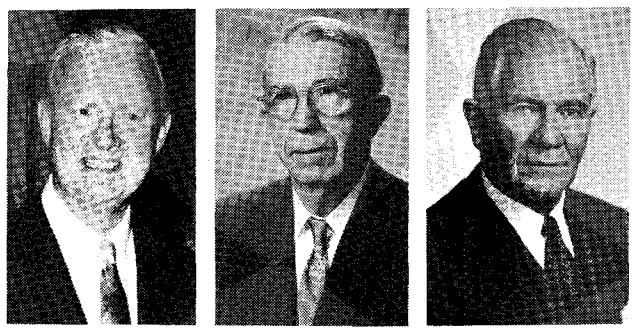
Yet in spite of these liberal gains, the factors that felled Smith and Robertson were probably not ideological. Age, say Virginia politicos, played perhaps the primary role. Robertson, 79, faced a young (45), articulate opponent in Spong. Spong, furthermore, was considered only a shade more liberal than Robertson by Virginia's hard-core conservative paper, the Richmond *News Leader*, thus contributing to the belief of many Virginia voters that it didn't make too much difference who won.

Ironically also, Robertson, who had to fight off a smear campaign that he was a tool of the bankers, began to campaign as a liberal. In the Senate, Robertson voted for the Participation Sales Act and was conveniently absent during the reapportionment fight. And in Virginia, he began boasting of how much federal money he had brought into the Old Dominion. This dismayed a number of previous Robertson supporters who stayed home as a result.

Smith, 83, was also running against a man barely over half his age. Moreover, the seasoned conservative crusader had been the victim of a congressional reapportionment scheme which threw a large part of liberal Fairfax county into his district.

Still another crucial factor in the Robertson-Smith defeat was Virginia's Conservative party leaders, who advocated a boycott of the primary since they consider Virginia Democrats a tool of the national party. The fact that a number of conservatives "sat this one out" reveals that their strength in Virginia is no doubt greater than the primary suggested.

Does the outcome mean an end to conservatism in Virginia? Putting the primary into perspective, the Richmond *News Leader* remarked: "In Byrd and



Byrd, Smith, Robertson: Only Byrd came through.

Spong, if that is how it turns out, Virginia will have one conservative and one moderate conservative in the Senate; if Rawlings wins in November and joins the 9th District's Pat Jennings in the House, we still will have a delegation of two liberals and eight conservatives. That strikes us as not too bad a prospect for a state, rooted in the ancient wisdom, that is rapidly learning new lessons for a new day."

There is, furthermore, always the possibility that the Republicans and the Conservatives—who are fielding conservatively oriented candidates—will also pick up a seat or two. Thus, the vision of the Old Dominion becoming a bastion of liberalism still appears remote.

The GOP 'Salvage Corps'

In passing the foreign aid bill, the House last week, in a thrilling cliff-hanger, voted for the first time to extend the entire aid program for longer than one year.

The new aid plan extends major economic assistance programs—development loans and the Alliance for Progress—for five years, and all other parts of the program for two years. The House authorized the Administration $4.1 billion for fiscal 1967.

A motion sponsored by Rep. E. Ross Adair (R.-Ind.), a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, to reduce the two-year authorization to a single year and to trim $250 million from the $1-billion ceiling on long-term loans for economic development, was beaten in a 193-to-191 vote. Only four Republicans cast their lot with a solid phalanx of liberal Democrats.

These four liberal Republicans, Reps. Silvio Conte (Mass.), Joseph Martin (Mass.), Ogden Reid (N. Y.) and Stanley Tupper (Maine), have earned the wrath of their party Colleqgues because they provided the liberal Demos with the necessary margin of victory. The two-year authorization plan, however, still faces a struggle in the Senate. (The rollcall on the Adair motion will appear next week in *Human Events*.)

U.S. Aid for Viet Cong?

A minority of congressmen from both sides of the aisle are expressing keen resentment that U. S. taxpayers, under this year's foreign aid act, will be financing an extremist Arab group which has plans to recruit Arab refugees for the Viet Cong.

Under the foreign aid bill, the United States, based on past contributions, will chip in about $17 million to the U. N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, which, in turn, finances the Nasser-controlled Palestine Liberation Army. This group, which operates in the Nasser-administered Gaza strip, controls a section of radical Arab refugees who are plotting the downfall of Israel. Its spokesmen, moreover, have recently claimed they are recruiting Arab refugees to fight for the Viet Cong.

NASSER

Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.), chairman of the Senate's Refugees and Escapees subcommittee, is planning to hold hearings on the subject this week. Staff members of the subcommittee, who have just returned from the Near East, say the PLO recently established a mission in Peking and has influence in Syria. (The Viet Cong, it is noted, also have a mission in Egypt.)

Other Arab nations, moreover, have specifically repudiated this extremist group.

King Hussein of Jordan said in a speech on June 14 that the PLO, which Jordan helped set up, had "come under domination of subversive" elements. He claimed the officials of the PLO had become "festering sores in which breed germs alien to our own homeland."

Nevertheless, as the foreign aid bill stands today, American taxpayers will wind up supporting this extremist group.

Lindsay's 'Liberal' Review Board

New York Mayor John Lindsay last week announced an incredible appointment, that of veteran leftist Algernon Black to head a controversial Police Review Board which will probe reports of police brutality. Black's appointment was cleared by militant civil rights leaders.

Official files disclose that the 65-year-old Black has been affiliated with Communist-front groups for 30 years. Even today, Black is a sponsor of the officially cited National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. In 1965 he signed an ad by another cited group, the National Committee for the Repeal of the McCarran Act. In 1964 he was among the sponsors of a Memorial Tribute to W.E.B. DuBois, the avowed Communist who died an American expatriate in Ghana.

Police viewed Black's appointment with alarm. President John Cassese of the Policemen's Benevolent Association said the new board was stacked against the cops. "They couldn't be impartial if they wanted to," he said. "You can see that from the board's composition."

The PBA and the New York Conservative party have garnered more than 90,000 signatures on petitions designed to force a referendum on the Review Board, but "liberal" Lindsay is feverishly working to prevent a popular vote on this issue.

The Anheuser-Busch Case

House Republican leaders have called for an investigation into the circumstances surrounding the Justice Department's dismissal of an anti-trust suit against Anheuser-Busch on June 17. Three executives of the company and their wives contributed $8,000 for memberships in the top-drawer Democratic "President's Club" less than one month earlier. The head of the brewery's public relations firm and his wife also signed up for $2,000. Last week, moreover, it was disclosed that Vice President Hubert Humphrey, along with the head of the Justice Department's Antitrust Division, flew to the all-star game in St. Louis recently on a plane supplied by the Anheuser Busch Co. August Busch Jr. is owner of the Cardinal ball club.

Rep. Charles E. Goodell (R.-N.Y.) charged on the floor that "this sequence of events [the contributions followed by the dismissal] is too much for us to believe."

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RACES of the WEEK

This is the fourth installment of our regular pre-election feature, Races of the Week. Each week until Election Day, November 8, *Human Events* will offer as many analyses of key election contests from coast to coast as space permits.

Illinois' 11th District

Hoellen vs. Pucinski

A veteran Chicago alderman, John J. Hoellen, has Rep. Roman Pucinski (D.-Ill.) running scared. Pucinski represents a chronically marginal district and faces the toughest opponent of his political career.

Hoellen, 50, was first elected to the Chicago City Council 20 years ago and has demonstrated his electoral "clout" ever since. Representing a largely Democratic ward, Hoellen was re-elected with 79 per cent of the vote in 1963.

A leader of the council's bi-partisan "economy bloc," Hoellen is making Pucinski's rubber-stamp support of Administration spending proposals a major campaign issue. Washington study indicates that Pucinski opposes economy on 19 of every 20 rollcalls.

Pucinski's unswerving support of Chicago's scandal-racked anti-poverty program is another issue. More than one-fifth of the youngsters hired under Chicago's federally financed Neighborhood Youth Corps, for instance, were ineligibles from a standpoint of need, but Pucinski has yet to utter a single word of criticism.

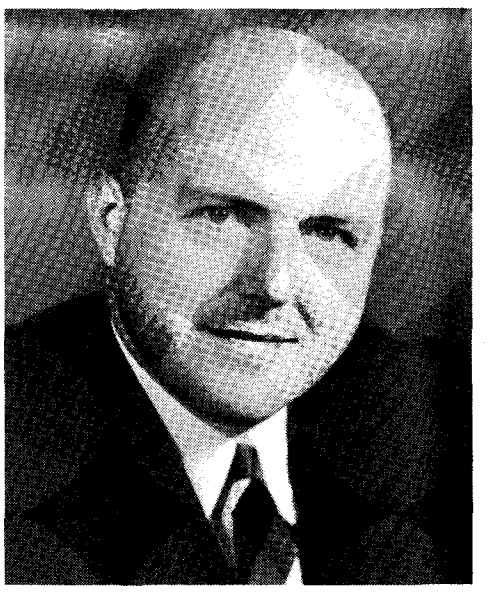
It is not surprising that the letterhead of the Pucinski for Congress Committee lists Deton J. Brooks Jr., Chicago's anti-poverty boss. Brooks is not even a resident of Pucinski's district and Hoellen has charged that his participation in the campaign is a "flagrant violation of the intent, if not the letter," of federal law.

"Solicitations for funds have been made to banks and other businesses as well as individuals with the letterhead," Hoellen charged, in asking Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach to investigate. Not surprisingly, Katzenbach has taken no action.

Hoellen is hitting hard at Pucinski's subservience to White House lobbyists and the four-term congressman has belatedly taken steps to demonstrate his "independence." In late April, for instance, "Pooch" supported a Republican amendment that would bar "Food for Peace" aid to nations trading with North Viet Nam. But Pucinski supported the proposal only after it was apparent it had passed. He initially voted "nay," then walked to the well of the House and changed his vote when it was obvious the amendment had passed by almost 3 to 1.

Pucinski received 56.9 per cent of the vote in the Democratic landslide of 1964 but in previous campaigns never won by more than 52.7 per cent. Hoellen is the toughest challenger he has yet faced and the first one who is widely known in the district.

Hoellen will be aided by a strong GOP ticket. Cook County Sheriff Richard Ogilvie is running for the presidency of the County Board and heads a ticket that includes State Rep. Earl Eisenhower. Eisenhower, younger brother of the former president, is running for county clerk. (The address of the Hoellen for Congress Committee is 1842 West Larchmont, Chicago, Ill.)



HOELLEN

Tennessee's 9th District

Kuykendall vs. Grider

As a freshman congressman, George Grider (D.-Tenn.) last year spent $2,147 in federal funds on a Far Eastern junket that took him to Japan. But Grider has no time for such travels this year. He is returning every week to his Memphis district in a desperate attempt to win re-election.

"Desperate" is no overstatement. Under attack for his vote to repeal Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, Grider recently told a group of Memphis businessmen that his Republican opponent, Dan Kuykendall, also backed repeal.

Actually, Kuykendall is an outspoken defender of Tennessee's right-to-work law and of 14b. The Grider charge indicates only how desperate the incumbent has become.

Kuykendall, a Proctor and Gamble executive, is well known in the district. He ran a strong campaign for U. S. senator in 1964, racking up 46 per cent of the vote despite the Johnson landslide. In that same campaign Grider was elected to the House with 52 per cent of the vote, but redistricting, which took several Democratic strongholds from Grider, has seriously weakened his position.

Kuykendall is making the high cost of living a major issue, charging that Grider has given consistent support to Administration programs that foster inflation. Grider handed Kuykendall a ready-made issue when he brushed aside reports that Memphis housewives were up in arms over spiraling food costs.

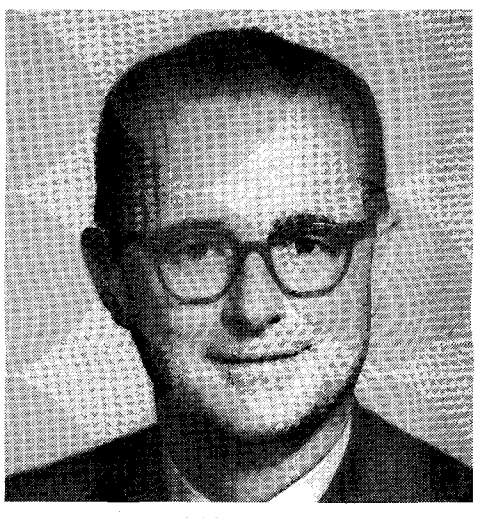
"Housewives are always concerned about something," Grider said. "Personally I am not particularly concerned."

Kuykendall has charged that Grider is nothing more than a marionette for White House lobbyists. Grider has not denied the charge, asserting he is a "team man" and that "you can't get anything unless you're on the team."

The non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* reports that Grider gave the Administration 100 per cent support on major issues during the first session of the 89th Congress and he has yet to oppose the White House this session. The conservative Americans for Constitutional Action give Grider a 0 per cent rating.

Grider has labeled Kuykendall a "negativist" who is "against everything." The GOP nominee replies that that he is running on a "positive program" that includes a tax credit for college education, removal of the restrictions on "outside income" for Social Security recipients and a return to the states of a certain percentage of the federal tax revenues for education and other local responsibilities.

Tennessee Democrats are badly divided and Kuykendall expects to profit from the intra-party squabbling. Former Gov. Buford Ellington, a moderate Democrat, is opposed by Kennedyphile John Jay Hooker Jr. in the gubernatorial primary and incumbent Gov. Frank Clement is challenging ultra-liberal Sen. Ross Bass in the Democratic Senate race. (The address of the Kuykendall for Congress Committee is Box 4647, Memphis, Tenn.)



KUYKENDALL

California's 33rd District

Pettis vs. Dyal

In the closing days of the 1964 campaign, an armed hoodlum forced his way into the home of Jerry Pettis, the Republican nominee for Congress from California's 33rd Congressional District. The gunman worked Pettis over, then dragged him to a secluded orange grove a mile away and warned:

"Next time it will be a lot worse. You know you've been telling of lot of lies about Mr. Dyal [Democratic nominee Kenneth Dyal]. I don't like that and my friends don't like that. I'm telling you—this is a warning. If you know what's good for you, you'll shut up."

Pettis ignored the threat, continued his campaign and surprised the experts by polling 48.3 per cent of the vote in a district that had gone Democratic for three decades. Now Pettis is running once again and is given an excellent chance to unseat Dyal.

A former San Bernadino postmaster, Dyal was elected to his first term in 1964 largely on the basis that he could do more for the district. He has failed miserably in that respect. Shortly after he came to Washington, the Pentagon announced that it was phasing out Norton Air Force Base and 6,000 of Dyal's constituents lost their jobs.

Although his mail ran 10 to 1 against repeal, Dyal voted to strike Section 14b from the Taft-Hartley Act. He has gone down the line on Administration projects that are decidedly unpopular in the district—rent supplements, the "War on Poverty," aid to pro-Communist "neutrals."

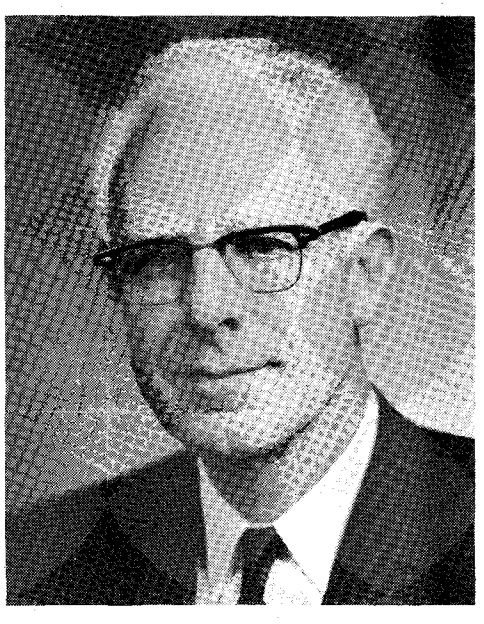
Dyal is running scared. In recent weeks he has saturated the district with franked mailings and is returning home every weekend to mend his fences.

Dyal was the recipient of a $500 "travel subsidy" from the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education. Big Labor's solicitude is not hard to fathom: COPE lobbyists give him a 100 per cent rating, as do representatives of the leftist Americans for Democratic Action. (The conservative Americans for Constitutional Action rate him at 0.)

Pettis will make the war in Viet Nam a central issue, citing bungling and mismanagement by the Administration. The GOP nominee, a successful businessman, knows what he is talking about. He spent a month in Viet Nam earlier this year under State Department sponsorship helping the Saigon government set up public health facilities.

Another issue is likely to be Dyal's endorsement by the California Democratic Council. The CDC, long controlled by radical leftists, has denounced American participation in Viet Nam, called for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and demanded the repeal of state loyalty oaths.

Democrats outnumber Republicans approximately 4 to 3 in the district, but a large number of these are conservatives who can be expected to back Pettis. Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty received 48 per cent of the Democratic vote in the district in the recent gubernatorial primary. (The address of the Pettis for Congress Committee is 24934 Tulip Ave., Loma Linda, Calif.)



DYAL

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Former Sen. Barry Goldwater spoke to the peaceniks who picketed his house in *Phoenix recently and told the demonstrators he supports the war effort.*

Why I Would Outlaw Residential Picketing

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Three dozen persons recently picketed my Phoenix home, protesting my support of a strong stand in Viet Nam.

I received the pickets and spoke with them. There was no violence, just inconvenience. But there was the flat violation of a cherished and meaningful principle of a free society—that a man should be permitted the full and free peaceful enjoyment of his own property without hindrance.

These people had the right to speak out. I would support them all the way in picketing me at public places or staging public parades or debates or whatever.

But I do not support anyone's right to take protest to any man's front yard, to his home, to his family, to his privacy.

I also reject the idea that the right to surround or trespass on a man's private property is part of the doctrine of free speech. Even the Supreme Court has turned down the idea that the rights of free speech and assembly would permit people to block a busy street corner, hindering traffic, stopping people going about their business and even halting vehicles on emergency missions.

The idea of applying pressure against a man's home falls into the same category so far as I can see. In the Senate I introduced the legislation which makes bombings illegal. Bombings had been used, in some places, as a direct attack against a person's home and property in connection with political or social pressure.

Although the scale of violence is quite different, picket lines around a home also exert a form of pressure which I feel is clearly unethical, if not illegal.

A distinguished analysis of this very problem, by the highly respected Prof. Alfred Kamin of Loyola University's School of Law, has been published. Here are some of Prof. Kamin's conclusions which I wish protesters in general would carefully study:

"Residential picketing has been a technique barred by the law to labor unions in the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. In the constitutional value scale, the quiet enjoyment and privacy of residential premises—even of the privately owned homes of public officials—merits a higher priority than freedom of speech.

"Petitions for redress of grievances are communications directed to the place of government in person, by mail, by telephone or even by demonstrations in view of public office buildings. . . . When a group resorts to residential picketing, it introduces a note of physical intimidation and coercion. . . . If public decisions are to be made this way, the group which can bring the greatest amount of physical power to bear upon officials will see its views prevail.

"A government somewhere might function in this way—but it would not be a democracy."

I have hand-lettered a sign on my driveway telling pickets to walk up and not jam the street with their cars. Perhaps what I should do is post Prof. Kamin's article.

(Copyright 1966, Los Angeles *Times*)

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PROBLEM?—The State Division of Employment Office in Buffalo, N. Y., has advised the unemployed not to stop at the office on their way to and from the beach. "While we are not averse to people seeking relief from summer heat," Sup. Leo A. Sweeney says, "unemployment insurance claimants appearing at our office in beach attire are finding it difficult to convince us of their readiness for work."—From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review.*

□ □ □

WHIZ KID—"Golly, that Bobby Kennedy is smart. He knows everything—all about Africa, South America, Viet Nam, poverty, the H-bomb. Yes, sir, he's the Charles Van Doren of politics."
—Don Maclean

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Liberals Take Aim on Reagan

By DONALD L. JACKSON

If elected governor of California next November, will Ronald Reagan order the bombing of the Berkeley campus of the University of California? Will he confiscate all wheel chairs, crutches and prosthetic devices, leaving the lame and the halt prostrate and helpless in streets and gutters? Would his election put a stop to all programs of public assistance in the Golden State?

Quite likely—being a fairly reasonable chap—Gov. Reagan would do none of these reprehensible things. But, if the spokesmen for the liberal establishment in this country, all of whom view the Reagan candidacy with an abhorrence usually reserved for the lesions of leprosy, have their way about it, the clear inference will be that all of these monstrous things, plus many other horrors, will happen if California voters send Reagan to Sacramento.

The technique for destroying the character of a political figure and distorting his position on issues in controversy is as old as history itself. It was practiced with varying degrees of success in biblical times and the half truth and the big lie played significant roles in terminating political careers in Athens and Rome.

As recently as 1964, A.D., a genial and completely sincere United States senator, one Barry Goldwater, got the full treatment at San Francisco and subsequently during the course of his campaign for the presidency. Viewed in retrospect, in fact, the remarkable aspect of the 1964 campaign is not that Goldwater lost the election, but that some 27 million voters resisted mass brainwashing and trekked to their polling places to cast ballots for such an irresponsible, trigger-happy maniac as Goldwater was represented to be.

Reagan's primary election victory in California not only catapulted him into the national spotlight, but once again gave the liberal-collectivist claque what it dearly loves: a conservative target clearly outlined on the political horizon. His win has generated a state of near-frenzy in the editorial cloisters from which the pundits of liberalism direct the thinking of their followers.

Reagan, the affable actor turned conservative politician, is target No. 1 at this moment and what are now only relatively small squeaks of liberal disapproval will amplify into howls of rage and pain if the polls continue to show him leading against incumbent California governor Pat Brown. The word has gone down the line: "Get Reagan."

The campaign to defeat Reagan has many facets. The Johnson Administration, although knowing the prospects of defeat are great, really has no choice about entering the campaign; California—now the nation's most populous state—is too important a prize to be allowed to go by default.

And all is not rosy for the Reagan forces. The present Democratic infighting will likely subside as feuding elements of the party are whipped into line by party brass in Washington and Sacramento. Also, Gov. Brown is no political pushover, and his allies, in and out of California, represent formidable and well-heeled forces.

Organized labor has already announced that national officers of the AFL-CIO will descend on California in an effort to get the "Stop Reagan" campaign rolling in every local union in the state. Each of the five labor leaders has been assigned a region and it will be his personal responsibility to see that the rank-and-file union members in his area get on the ball. This move means, among other things, a fortune in money for the Brown campaign.

The national press, largely hostile to Reagan, will use its power to deride and scoff. The liberal commentators and analysts, none of whom have ever demonstrated any fondness for Republicans generally, will don sackcloth and ashes as they bemoan publicly what may happen to "the great party of Abraham Lincoln" if Californians are stupid enough to elect what columnists Evans and Novak have snidely called "Barry Goldwater's California cheerleader."

The Lippmanns, the Drummonds, the Alsops, the Evans-Novaks have cause for concern. Reagan has demonstrated that he can hold his own and that he has done his homework on the issues.

The National Press Club in Washington gave him an ovation following his speech and the question-and-answer period that followed it. Unlike Goldwater, who tended to stand flat-footed in the middle of the arena and slug it out, Reagan has displayed some fancy foot-work. Where Goldwater cut wide swathes with a political broadsword, Reagan prefers the rapier, and he has demonstrated a capacity to draw political blood with it.

The liberals are not accustomed to conservative candidates who are fast on their feet and who can field a curve ball question with finesse. This is proving frustrating to them and, as their frustration mounts, so will their animosity. The catcalls (phrased always in cultivated and condescending tone) will grow more numerous and distinct.

Carpetbagging politicos from all over the land will make the trek to the Pacific shores in the "Stop Reagan" manuevering. Already, Frederick Dutton has come back from the State Department to head Brown's campaign and Democratic National Chairman John Bailey of Connecticut has been busy denouncing Reagan as a "darling" of the nation's "GOP right wing." Also, Pierre Salinger, who, next to Bobby Kennedy, is the symbol of the carpetbagger, has been made Dutton's assistant to handle the southern California portion of the Brown campaign.

But this is only the beginning; the Reagan-Brown race is a big one and the liberals will have pulled out all the political stops before the polls open on election day.

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A SORRY SITUATION—In a recent interview with Miss Frances Knight, director of the U. S. Passport Office, *Life* magazine quoted her as saying: "It is not consistent to wage war in Viet Nam and then let the people who are embarrassing the U. S. government travel around inciting hatred. Under our present regulations these people can go abroad and actively consort with Communists. There is nothing I can do but issue them a passport if I'm ordered to. It's a sorry situation when U. S. Communist sympathizers—or even non-Communists who are against U. S. policies—can go overseas and attack this country. They would be doing this country a disservice even if we weren't at war."

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DID YOU HEAR about this flying saucer that lands in Washington, D. C.? A little green man jumps out, goes up to Vice President Humphrey and says: "Take me to your leader!" And Humphrey says: "Don't be ridiculous. I hardly know the man!"

During his 14 years in the House, Mr. Jackson served on the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Committee on Un-American Activities. He is presently a radio-television commentator with his broadcasts, under the title of "Capitol Reporter," heard throughout ten Western states. His concise reporting on current political activities has won him a large audience in his listening area.

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Hanoi-Haiphong Bombing Confirms Earlier View of Johnson's Style

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

The bombing of oil storage depots in Hanoi and Haiphong is more significant for its confirmation of the President's operating technique than for its effect on the war. It has come only after months of reports that the North Vietnamese have been dispersing their fuel in drum storage parks. It is another measure of graduated response, inadequate and indecisive.

Some citizens may recall the Johnson retaliation against North Vietnamese torpedo boat bases in October 1964, following a reported attack on elements of the U.S. 7th Fleet. That event struck a timely image, just before the presidential election, of the leader who could handle the war with decisive action.

After the election, there was no follow-up. The President reverted to drift and to talk of peace by negotiation while the Viet Cong intensified its build-up and verged on ejecting U.S. forces from South Viet Nam.

In extremis, the President countered the Viet Cong escalation with bombing of the north and a build-up of U.S. combat forces in the south. This was response to Ho Chi Minh's initiative: it did not evidence any purposeful plan of ending the aggression.

Polls have noted a sharp drop of public confidence in the President in recent months. Lyndon Johnson knows their significance. In November he will not be running against the beatniks and Vietniks in his own party. He will be running against Republicans. The polls foretell a serious setback to the Democratic party unless the President overcomes the image of drift and indecision which he has been giving in recent months.

The President is stealing some of the Republican thunder, as he did in 1964. He is striking to restore the people's confidence in his leadership. As in 1964, however, this appears to be image-building and not resolution.

The President has been saying for two and a half years that he would raise the cost of the war to North Viet Nam to the point where Ho Chi Minh would cease his aggression. He has not done so and he is not doing so. It does not take two years to reach the point which the President describes, if you really intend to do it.

President Johnson has been building up the U.S.-South Viet Nam effort just enough to keep from losing; and he has been restraining our forces in deference to left-wing pressures at home and abroad. It would be clever political legerdemain if men weren't being killed while he dallies.

The attacks on fuel storage were damaging but not serious. Without associated measures of blockade and of ground action against Viet Cong communications in Laos, the destruction of bulk fuel storage will merely be an inconvenience.

There was more truth than appeared on the surface in Under Secretary Ball's statement that this was not an escalation of the war. The President has not abandoned his balancing act.

President Johnson has the power to end the war quickly. By decisive action, he could capture the imagination of the American people and sweep his party to victory in the November elections.

However, some important elements of his political consensus would not like that solution. He will, therefore, seek once again to win popular approval with an image of strength which does not reflect his true policy. We can only hope that the American people know his style too well to be deceived by such posturing.

(Copyright 1966, General Features Corp.)

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IF THE SHOE FITS—When pickets who protested President Johnson's Viet Nam policy were prevented from joining the crowd which welcomed the President at the Des Moines Airport, one protested: " . . . we're being treated as second-class citizens." O. K. Case dismissed. Next. . . .—From the Ohama (Neb.) *Evening World-Herald*

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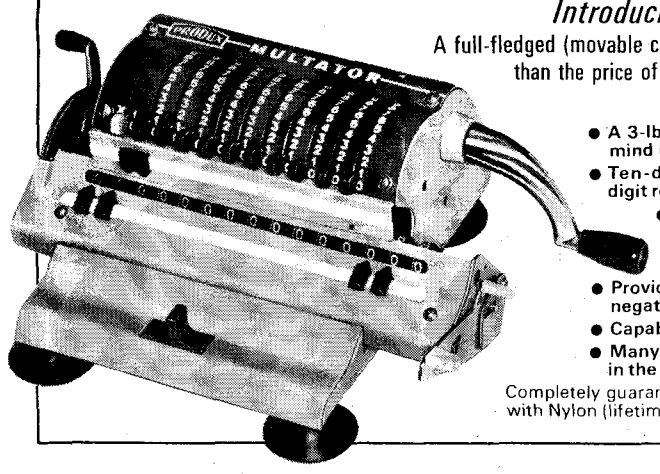

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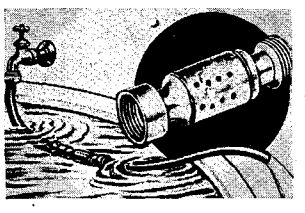

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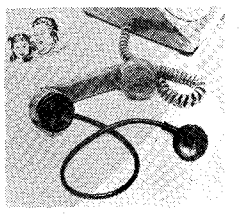

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These eight Democratic freshmen congressmen are among the liberals the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education wants to see re-elected.

How COPE Plans to Hold Marginal Liberal Districts

By TERRY CATCHPOLE

The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE), organized labor's chief electioneering arm and the most potent political machine in the land, has revealed its targets for 1966. COPE has selected the re-election races of 59 incumbent liberal Democratic congressmen as "make-or-break" contests and has pinpointed five conservative Republican senators for defeat.

The Senate targets were selected by COPE in 1964, when the organization's regional leaders began casting about for good candidates to run against the so-called "anti-labor" incumbents. The five singled out for defeat are: Gordon Allott of Colorado, Len Jordan of Idaho, Jack Miller of Iowa, Karl Mundt of South Dakota and John Tower of Texas. The seat presently held by Sen. Milward Simpson of Wyoming, who is not seeking re-election, will also be a COPE goal.

It will be noted that all six of these Senate races are in states not normally thought to be centers of labor union activity. This is precisely what COPE would like the incumbents to think.

By pouring out-of-state money and manpower into such sparsely populated states as Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, North Dakota and Wyoming, COPE is able to have a great influence on a statewide race for a fraction of the cost that would be spent in a large industrial state such as New York or California. In this way COPE is able to get a Senate vote for a "bargain rate." This is the tactic which COPE used in electing such pro-labor Democratic Senate stalwarts as Gale McGee from Wyoming, Lee Moss of Utah and Frank Church of Idaho. (Texas, as LBJ's home and a normally Democratic state, is a special case.)

In addition to putting great emphasis on defeating these six incumbents, COPE will also help see that some of its most loyal friends in the Senate are kept in office. Pro-labor Democrats in the Senate who face tough fights for reelection this year include Lee Metcalf of Montana, Thomas McIntyre of New Hampshire and Ross Bass of Tennessee.

While these Senate races will attract a great deal of attention from the COPE strategists, it is the 59 House of Representatives races which will occupy the most time, will receive the most money and benefit from the greatest manpower assistance. The pro-labor forces are virtually assured of a majority of friendly votes in the Senate, no matter the outcome of this fall's elections, but the House is another matter.

Organized labor has always found it difficult, because of the members' independence, to dominate the House. It was only when Lyndon Johnson's landslide 1964 victory gave the Democrats an overwhelming House majority that Big Labor was able to ram through some of its long-sought legislative proposals.

COPE is very aware of this fact and seeks to impress it upon its membership. An article in a recent issue of the *COPE Political Memo* tried to make this impression by listing a few of the votes in the 89th Congress which were favorably affected by the new liberals elected in 1964:

"A switch of two votes in the House," the *Memo* reported, "would have butchered the public works bill." "A switch of four votes in the House would have kayoed the President's proposal for rent subsidies for the poor," was another item listed. Other close votes given as examples of the importance to labor of these new congressmen were the House right-to-work repeal vote (which passed 221 to 203) and the vote to create the new Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Because many of the new liberal Democrats who made these victories possible are from congressional districts which are normally Republican, COPE refers to its attempt to re-elect them as "the toughest political test ever."

In all there are 59 liberal Democrats in the House of Representatives, 46 of them freshmen, who are from "marginal" or switch districts in 1964. They will be the center of COPE's attention in this fall's campaign.

The importance of these 59 representatives was dramatized in a May issue of the *Political Memo* in these terms:

"On COPE's unofficial list of 11 key votes on major legislation in 1965, these 59 congressmen cast a total of 585 right votes, only 40 wrong votes—less than one wrong vote per person . . . Not one piece of progressive legislation would have made it [without them]. . . .

"In the cold figures of political arithmetic, it's clear that a successful 1966 election—from labor's point of view—hinges primarily on the outcome in the marginal and switch districts of 1964. Many other districts, of course, are important, but these are make-or-break. They include some of the brightest, most imaginative and most liberal members of Congress—the big hitters."

The special intensified effort to reelect these 59 congressmen will fall under the jurisdiction of COPE's Marginal District Project. Started in early 1963 under the skillful hand of COPE's deputy director, Joe Rourke, the Marginal District Project proved to be one of COPE's most effective campaign tactics in 1964.

The strategy of this project is elementarily simple. A "marginal" district is a congressional seat which was won in the previous election by 55 per cent or less of the total vote. If the winner of this race was "pro-labor" according to COPE's ratings, the labor political machine will be out to get him reelected. If the winner was a conservative, or, as COPE prefers to call him, "anti-labor," then he will be marked for defeat by the COPE forces.

A "*Confidential Report*" from the COPE research department, written in November 1964, gave the history of the Marginal District Project and outlined its basic strategy:

"COPE started early in 1963 to select and give special attention to those districts where tight elections could be expected [in 1964]. Working from a basic list of districts won in 1962 with 55 per cent or less of the total vote, special attention was given to selected congressional districts in terms of manpower and financing from COPE and individual international unions. Many internationals gave more help than ever before, and their assistance was more effectively used and coordinated. . . .

"The marginal district project . . . concentrated in two major areas:

"1. Raising money for more than routine contributions.

"2. Encouraging international unions to release full-time employes for assignment in specific areas where they were requested."

Elaborating on these two steps, the report commented on the financing aspect:

"By directing funds toward those districts most in need and by spreading contributions over all close districts, these funds were more sensibly apportioned than ever before. There was infrequent repetition of the wasteful accumulation of funds by those candidates who are best at raising money but are not necessarily most in need or most deserving."

And on the subject of providing paid manpower to marginal district candidates, the report noted with optimism that "a healthy start has been made in persuading international unions to release personnel for political activity on a sound basis."

The Marginal District Project was

Labor's 'Make or Break' Races

Below are the 59 liberal Democrats—46 of them freshmen—who, because they won by 55 per cent of the vote or less in 1964, are considered to represent marginal congressional districts. The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education will concentrate much of its national campaign effort in these districts.

ALASKA
AL—Ralph Rivers*

ARIZONA
3rd—George Senner Jr.

ARKANSAS
3rd—James W. Trimble

CALIFORNIA
22nd—James Corman*
33rd—Kenneth W. Dyal (F)*
38th—John V. Tunney (F)

COLORADO
2nd—Roy H. McVicker (F)
3rd—Frank Evans (F)

CONNECTICUT
4th—Donald Irwin

GEORGIA
5th—Charles Weltner

HAWAII
AL—Patsy Mink (F)*

IDAHO
1st—Compton White

ILLINOIS
19th—Gale Schisler (F)
23rd—George E. Shipley

INDIANA
5th—J. Edward Roush
9th—Lee Hamilton (F)
11th—Andrew Jacobs (F)

IOWA
1st—John Schmidhauser (F)
2nd—John Culver (F)
4th—Bert Bandstra (F)
6th—Stanley Greigg (F)
7th—John R. Hansen (F)

LOUISIANA
2nd—Hale Boggs

MAINE
2nd—William Hathaway (F)*

MICHIGAN
2nd—Weston Vivian (F)*
3rd—Paul H. Todd (F)
11th—Raymond Clevenger (F)*
19th—Billie S. Farnum (F)

MINNESOTA
6th—Alec Olson

MONTANA
1st—Arnold Olsen*

NEBRASKA
1st—Clair Callan (F)

NEW HAMPSHIRE
1st—Oliva Huot (F)*

NEW JERSEY
2nd—Thomas McGrath (F)*
3rd—James J. Howard (F)*
9th—Henry Helstoski (F)*

NEW MEXICO
AL—E. S. Walker (F)

NEW YORK
3rd—Lester Wolff (F)
5th—Herbert Tenzer (F)
15th—Hugh Carey
25th—Richard Ottinger (F)
27th—John Dow (F)*
28th—Joseph Resnick (F)
34th—James Hanley (F)*
39th—Richard McCarthy (F)

NORTH DAKOTA
2nd—Rolland Redlin (F)

OHIO
1st—John Gilligan (F)
3rd—Rodney Love (F)*
10th—Walter H. Moeller (F)

PENNSYLVANIA
19th—N. Nieman Craley (F)*
24th—Joseph Vigorito (F)

TENNESSEE
9th—George Grider (F)

UTAH
2nd—David King (F)

WASHINGTON
2nd—Lloyd Meeds (F)*
5th—Thomas Foley (F)
6th—Floyd Hicks (F)
7th—Brock Adams (F)*

WISCONSIN
1st—Lynn Stalbaum (F)
6th—John A. Race (F)

WYOMING
AL—Teno Roncalio (F)**

(F: Freshman)
*These 18 members had perfect "pro-labor" records in the First Session of the 88th Congress, according to COPE's ratings on 11 "key unofficial votes."
**Roncalio is running for the Democratic nomination for the Senate.

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used for the first time in 1964, and it was tried in 89 congressional districts. The COPE-backed candidates won in 61 of these races (69 per cent success). Such is the effectiveness of this project.

This year, after two years of smoothing off rough edges, COPE will again rely on the Marginal District Project to preserve friendly legislators in districts where close contests can be expected. In this fall's campaign, in addition to concentrating on marginal districts, COPE will also put special stress on re-electing pro-labor congressmen who score more than marginal victories in 1964 in districts that were previously held by supposedly "anti-labor" Republicans.

One aspect of the project which will be different this year is that national labor politicos will not be paying as much attention as in the past to defeating Marginal District conservative Republicans. The COPE strategists reason that any "anti-laborite" who won while Sen. Goldwater was going down to a landslide defeat in most states could win anytime. This strategy will not, of course, hold true in the Senate races where COPE believes it has a good chance of upsetting such incumbent conservatives as Jack Miller (R.-Iowa), Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.) and John Tower (R.-Tex.). The strategy also will not prevent local labor leaders from working against the marginal conservative House members.

As for the remainder of the pro-labor members of the House (in 1964 COPE claims that 327 of its candidates won election), the labor strategists figure their districts are reasonably "safe" and do not deserve the attention that will go to the 59 marginal seats. While some of these "safe" seats could become vulnerable, depending on the issues and quality of opposing candidates, COPE is not worrying as much about them as it is about seeing to it that the first-time victors of 1964 win a second time in 1966.

Supplementing the Marginal District Project in COPE's general campaign strategy for 1966 will be a revolutionary concept in voter registration.

Previously COPE had to register its eligible voter-members the same way as any other political organization, by checking lists and ringing doorbells, but this year it has invested some of the AFL-CIO's considerable treasury resources in a computer system which will give organized labor an enormous advantage over every other political group in registering "friendly" voters.

Members of the AFL-CIO's affiliated unions will be programmed by COPE on IBM cards according to their "political status." These cards, which conceivably could represent every one of the 13.5 million unionists in the federation, will list the member's name, address, precinct, party affiliation, registration status and other data. A simple run of the cards through the computers will tell COPE which members it can feel reasonably sure will vote for its candidates and also whether or not these members are eligible and registered to vote.

The most obvious benefit of this radical new approach is the increased speed and efficiency it will give to COPE's already effective voter registration project, a program which is administered for the group on a national level by Roy Reuther, Walter's youngest brother. A side asset of the computer system will be the money that is saved by reducing the costs of list maintenance and mailing; money which can be used by COPE to pour into House and Senate races.

With a bank of computers working overtime to check that every pro-labor voter on the union rolls is registered to vote and with the Marginal District Project concentrating labor's political efforts on congressional districts where these efforts will be of the most benefit, COPE expects to preserve organized labor's numerical majorities in Congress.

COPE is well aware that political tradition has it that the party in power loses representation in Congress in off-year elections, and if this trend holds true this year it will mean a probable loss of the pro-labor majority in the House.

For this reason COPE and labor leaders generally have been warning the rank and file that this year is "labor's toughest political fight ever" and that it will take twice as much effort this fall to preserve the labor victories chalked up two years ago.

In a blast of tub-thumping propaganda, the *COPE Political Memo* recently pointed to the crucial votes affected by the new pro-labor congressmen and proclaimed that "they [these votes] show how thin the line is between the present liberal-controlled Congress and a potential conservative-controlled Congress. They show how important labor's role in politics will be this year, for the new programs workers and their families want and need are riding on the results of the voting next November."

As has been noted, the most immediate beneficiaries of these propaganda efforts will be the 59 marginal district liberal congressmen—especially the 46 freshmen among them. Whether or not they are elected depends upon the enthusiasm of the rank and file (which might have been dampened slightly by the failure of the Democrats to deliver on the repeal of 14b, the right-to-work section of the Taft-Hartley Act), the efficiency of the new computers in registering labor voters and the success of the Marginal District Project.

If all these elements work out to

COPE manages its multi-million-dollar election operations from the AFL-CIO headquarters building in Washington, D. C.

labor's benefit, the overwhelmingly liberal 89th Congress will be continued for at least another two years. And if the freshman congressmen elected in '64 are sent back to Washington this fall, it will take a much greater effort on the part of conservatives to oust them in 1968. A return to a responsible, independent Congress which respects free enterprise and individual freedom depends in large part upon the defeat of these 59 representatives this fall.

Ignores Military Protests

McCormack Arranges Viet Tour to Help Candidates

By BILL SCHULZ

House Speaker John McCormack has done his best to re-elect several members of his flock, and American commanders in Viet Nam are reportedly furious.

McCormack dispatched a 14-man "bipartisan inspection tour" to Viet Nam earlier this month, ignoring military protests that junketing congressmen are a nuisance who actually hinder the war effort.

Not one of the 10 Democrats McCormack sent abroad qualifies as a military expert. But all face difficult re-election campaigns and the July 2-11 trip was designed to give them badly needed publicity in the home town papers. The four Republicans named by McCormack to give the tour a bipartisan flavor represent "safe" GOP districts and are assured of re-election.

Heading the list of Vietnamese visitors was Rep. John J. Gilligan (D.-Ohio). The Cincinnati freshman was carried into office in the Johnson landslide and needs all the help he can get if he is to rebuff former Rep. Bob Taft Jr. in November.

Teno Roncalio (D.-Wyo.) was another member of the inspection tour. Roncalio, who received less than 51 per cent of the vote in 1964, hopes to run for the Senate this fall.

Thomas G. McGrath (D.-N.J.) was elected in a fluke two years ago, winning 50.8 per cent of the vote in a traditionally Republican district. Without LBJ at the head of the ticket he is in trouble.

John J. Murphy (D.-N.Y.) won a second term rather easily in 1964, but faces a tough campaign this fall. His Brooklyn-Staten Island district is chronically marginal and gave him only 47.2 per cent of the vote in a three-way contest in 1962.

James Corman (D.-Calif.) was another of the Vietnamese junketeers. With the aid of Johnson's coattails, he received 50.5 per cent of the vote two years ago and consequently faces a strong Republican challenge in November.

William Hathaway (D.-Me.) was also sent to Viet Nam by McCormack. He captured a Republican seat in 1964 and needs considerable help if he is to win a second term.

Roman Pucinski (D.-Ill.) and Gale Schisler (D.-Ill.) both joined the Vietnamese junket. Pucinski faces a serious challenge in November and Schisler, a former schoolteacher, rates as a decided underdog in his campaign for a second term.

Basil Whitener (D.-N.C.) is in a tough campaign and Robert Duncan (D.-Ore.) is running for the Senate. Publicity from the Vietnamese trip should aid both.

None of the visitors to Viet Nam is a member of the House Armed Services Committee. Gilligan, for instance, is assigned to the Commerce Committee; Roncalio to Veterans Affairs and Interior; McGrath to Banking and Currency; Murphy to Commerce and Merchant Marine; Corman to Judiciary; Pucinski and Hathaway to Education and Labor; Schisler to Science and Astronautics; Duncan to Appropriations; Whitener to District of Columbia and Judiciary.

The four Republicans who visited Viet Nam, all assured of re-election, are Ed Gurney (Fla.), Tim Lee Carter (Ky.), Hastings Keith (Mass.) and John Anderson (Ill.).

★ ★ ★

The announcement by Rep. Claude Pepper (D.-Fla.) that he is considering a senatorial comeback elicited nothing more than yawns from Florida politicos. After 14 years in the Senate, Pepper was defeated by George Smathers in the 1950 Democratic primary.

Eight years later he attempted his first comeback, challenging incumbent Sen. Spessard Holland, a conservative, for renomination. The ultra-liberal Pepper lost again. He finally returned to Washington as a Miami congressman in 1963, but has eyed the Senate ever since.

With Smathers, who is ailing, unlikely to seek a fourth term in 1968, Pepper last week declared his availability. Not a single Florida Democrat of any stature has seconded the motion.

Leading contenders for the Smathers seat are former Gov. Leroy Collins and Rep. Charles Bennett, of Jacksonville, both Democrats. GOP Congressmen Ed Gurney of Winter Park and Bill Cramer of St. Petersburg are considering the race.

Pepper blames his 1950 and 1958 defeats on "McCarthyism." He insists

Rep. Claude Pepper (D.-Fla.) has announced he will try for George Smathers' Senate seat in 1968.

that Florida's political climate has changed "vastly" since then. All Smathers and Holland did was to criticize Pepper's post-war infatuation with the Soviet Union. Earl Browder, then the nation's top Red, didn't help when he announced that Pepper was one of the three Americans whom "liberty-loving people" could mark as a potential friend.

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'Happy Pappy' Jobs Blamed

Coal Mine Labor Shortage May Force Shut-Downs

From *ACTION in Kentucky*

Some employers in eastern Kentucky are faced with the fact of quitting business unless they are able to employ people to work. Out-of-state employers have met only moderate success in recruiting people to work in industrial plants.

A labor mobility demonstration to show the effectiveness of moving qualified unemployed workers from eastern Kentucky into jobs in other areas of the state has been announced at a cost of some $231,000 to the nation's taxpayers.

Cloyd McDowell, president, Harlan County Coal Operators' Association, reports that small mines are particularly hard hit by the labor shortage and that at least 1,500 experienced miners could easily be readily employed. He said Harlan county alone was critically short 150 mine employes although up to 500 could be placed on jobs quickly.

The association has been advertising regularly for more than 18 months and conducting personal recruiting programs in a six-county area trying to employ people offering up to $20 a day for experienced miners.

Some of the mine jobs pay $2 to $2.85 an hour, depending upon the skills involved. Education requirements are meager. Recruiting efforts have yielded only mild results, McDowell said. He said the unemployed fathers program conducted by the government offers great competition; that "Happy Pappies" are offered "from $250 on up, a hospital card, a dental card and food stamps to stay with this program rather than accept jobs in private industry."

He added: "If the purpose of the 'War on Poverty' is to impoverish everyone in the area, I think they are doing a real fine job. Unless we can secure the services of more men, some of our mines will have to seriously curtail their production or close down altogether."

The Work Experience and Training Program in 19 Kentucky counties of Appalachia is financed under a $17-million grant approved by the welfare administration under Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act. The program has acquired the nickname of "Happy Pappies" since it is designed to provide jobs and training for unemployed heads of families who perform menial labor.

McDowell said some of those in the "Happy Pappy" program were hired away from private work. He said one truck operator told him that he formerly had 18 employes and that 14 left his employment to join the unemployed fathers' program. He said such instances are reported to him frequently.

Out-of-state industrial recruiters have met little or no success at all in seeking people to work in plants, chiefly in northern cities. He said one employer sought 1,000 unskilled people to work at $2.80 an hour but was able to employ only about 800. Other employers had failed to get any recruits at all, McDowell said.

The labor mobility experiment proposes to select some 150 male heads of families from among the 19 counties and move them to job opportunities in Lexington, Louisville and northern Kentucky.

The project is to operate under a $115,545 federal grant under Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act, and a grant of $116,206 from the Department of Labor. Criteria for selecting unemployed workers include completion of a high school equivalency program in a vocational school program, or participation in an on-the-job work experience and training project.

McDowell said he had asked for a labor survey of the area to determine shortages in particular skills and availabilities of workers. He said this should be followed by a training program for the unskilled and that most of those without mining skills could qualify for skilled jobs in from six weeks to a year, depending upon native abilities.

Fifth District Congressman Tim Lee Carter recently declared the unemployed fathers program needed improvement, that he would like to see the men given work to include skills and training for more useful jobs. He said "Happy Pappies" in Harlan, Bell and Leslie counties are kept busy picking up rubble and litter on rights-of-way and performing other menial tasks.

"The help may be needed, but the assigned work is not very constructive, for the men are not receiving training or learning skills that could benefit them later."

Harry M. Caudill, Whitesburg lawyer, denied that the "Happy Pappy" program was the cause of the labor shortage in the coal mines. Instead, he said, the shortage is caused by the fact that the men are physically unfit for coal mining and by booming business in other parts of the nation.

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Harlan, Kentucky 40831

The above advertisement for coal miners has been broadly distributed through eastern Kentucky where some mines are threatened with closing unless they can recruit people to work the mines. This was reproduced from a handbill. The advertisement also was used in a number of newspapers without effective response.

Sylvester's At It Again

By WALTER TROHAN

There is constant warfare between the public's right to know, as defended by newspapers and other media of information, and the government's right to preserve itself in power.

The time has come to call a spade a spade and recognize that so-called news weaponry and so-called news management are nothing more or less than lying. A lie by any other name can't smell or sound or look as sweet as the truth, even though the truth may be hard to take.

The Kennedy-Johnson Administrations have been dedicated to news management. This means that they would lie if they couldn't wheedle or charm. It means that the lie has been an accepted way of life under the New Frontier and the "Great Society."

If one has any doubts it may be recalled that after the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, Arthur Sylvester, assistant secretary of defense, defended the government's misleading statements by saying: "It's the inherent right of the government to lie to save itself."

Sylvester added, with tongue in cheek, that he had 37 years of honest life as a newspaperman before he turned dishonest as an Administration press officer. In all honesty it must be recognized that he has championed the cause of newsmen more often than editors know, but he is now involved in a quarrel over the right to know in Viet Nam.

Writing in the 1966 annual issue of *Dateline*, the publication of the Overseas Press Club of New York City, Morley Safer of CBS News told of an interview a number of newsmen had with Sylvester. The interview was in the Saigon home of Barry Zorthian, minister-counselor in charge of information at the United States embassy. It must be assumed drinks were served in order to understand what followed. Safer, a Canadian citizen, wrote:

" 'Can't understand how you fellows can write what you do while American boys are dying out here,' he [Sylvester] began. Then he went on to the effect that American correspondents had a patriotic duty to disseminate only information that made the United States look good.

"A network correspondent said, 'Surely, Arthur, you don't expect the American press to be the handmaidens of the government.'

" 'That's exactly what I expect,' came the reply.

"An agency man raised the problem . . . of credibility of American officials.

" 'Look, if you think an official is going to tell you the truth, then you're stupid [Sylvester said]. Did you hear that—stupid? . . . Look, I don't even have to talk to you people. I know how to deal with you through your editors and publishers back in the states.'

"At this point, the Hon. Arthur Sylvester put his thumbs in his ears, bulged his eyes, stuck out his tongue, and wiggled his fingers."

Not long after the publication of the article, the editors of *Dateline* received a phone call from Sylvester. The editors wrote:

"Like the original incident described by Safer, it had to be experienced to be believed. Much of it was conducted at the top of Mr. Sylvester's healthy lungs, and it showed that all that has been said about Mr. Sylvester's being abusive, profane, combative and inaccurate was absolutely true in spades.

"Mr. Sylvester personally insulted and questioned the professional qualifications of the editors, described Safer as a 'moocher' and implied he was drunk at the time, slandered two other correspondents ['O, C——, if you believe him'], and . . . noted Safer was Canadian and therefore presumably disloyal."

Sylvester was asked to write an article for the issue of *Dateline* in which Safer's report appeared. He was asked a series of questions about the government and truth, which he chose not to answer.

This isn't the last chapter in the right to know, but it is one which every reader must weigh and consider when he reads or listens to government press agents.

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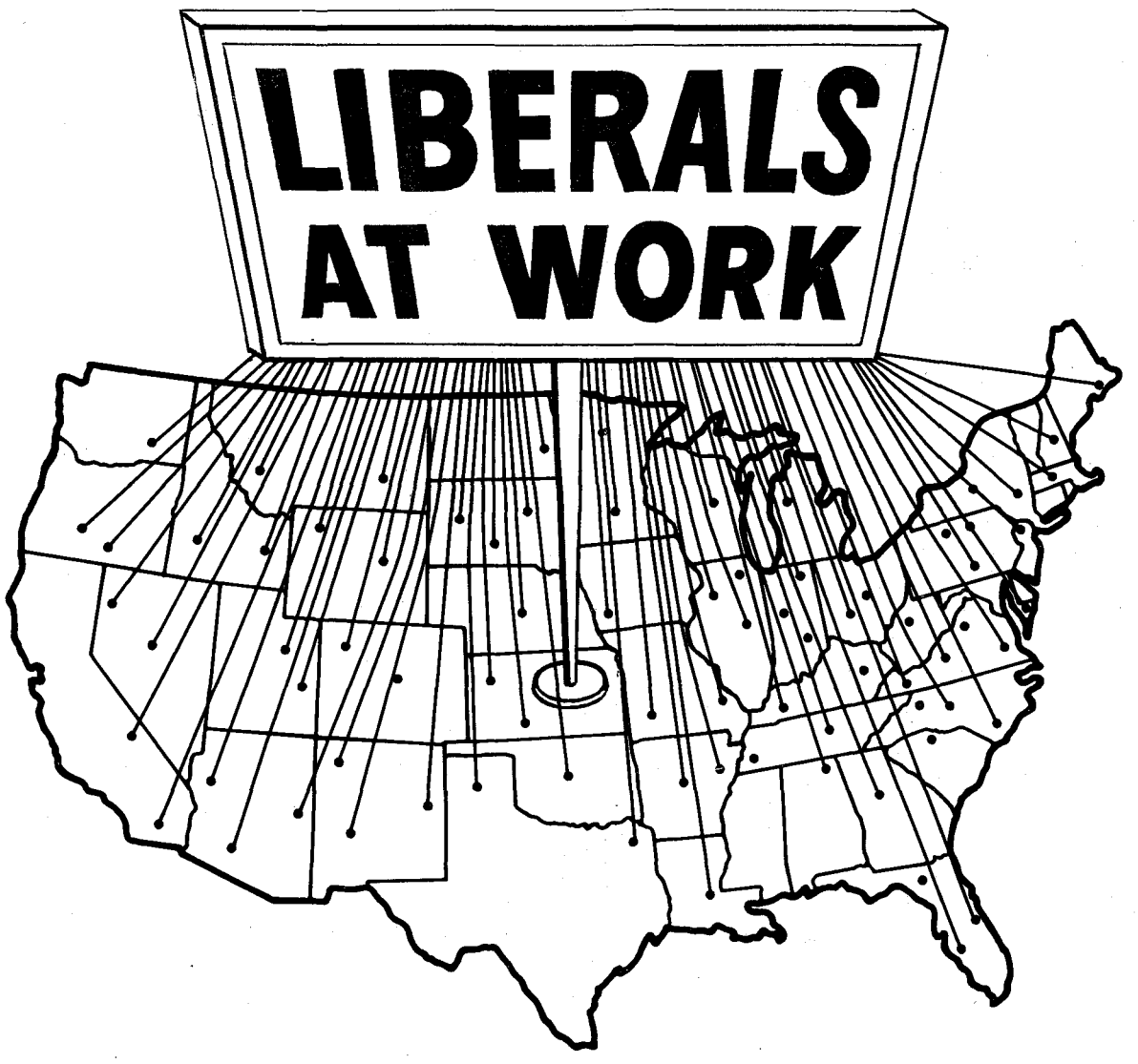

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Liberal Theories from 1930s Causing Today's Welfare Problems

By ALICE WIDENER

Always willing to tackle big projects in a big way, Americans ought now to join together in a campaign to collect the world's biggest supply of ashcans. If enough were collected for placement outside the conference rooms where many of our educational and welfare schemes are hatched, officials and academicians would have suitable receptacles for junking their accumulation of unworkable pet theories instead of unloading them on the long-suffering poor and on taxpayers.

Just think of it! Supposing that 25 years ago the New York City progressive educationists had junked their "look-say" method of learning to read and write in the ashcan where it belonged. Today, thousands of adults—doomed when public school children to look-say illiteracy and incapacity to earn a future living—would not now be on the city's $660-million welfare rolls.

Recently the New York educationists were forced to recognize the extent of the educational disaster they inflicted on city and nation through their past theorizing at Columbia Teachers College and other sociological institutions. Now New York City must spend millions of dollars to reinstitute the old-fashioned public school teaching method of learning to read and write that helped such disadvantaged boys as Irving Berlin and Jim Farley to emerge from the big city slums where they were born.

Supposing, too, that during the 1930s the leftist anti-vocational-education propaganda put out by Walter Reuther and by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's protege Joe Lash had been junked in the ashcan where it belonged. Today, thousands of young men and women receiving costly vocational education in the Job Corps might not have been dropouts from high school.

In the 1930s Mr. Reuther and Mr. Lash bitterly attacked vocational education as "undemocratic" and "conducive to a class-structured society." But the destruction of our once excellent American vocational education system produced a nationwide class of untrained, aimless and unemployable Americans.

Today, billions of taxpayers' dollars are being spent in the Job Corps program to try to give young men and women between the ages of 18 and 21 the kind of vocational education they should have had when they were between the ages of 12 and 16.

What would be the condition of many juvenile delinquents today if several much too stringent provisions devised by zealous, over-emotional and demagogic authors of our Child Labor Law had been junked in the ashcans where these unfair and arbitrarily restrictive provisions belonged? Thousands of low-income family adolescent boys and girls with an urgent need and human right to earn their own pocket money after school and over weekends would not be petty theives. As mother and grandmother, I have observed that nothing is more important to adolescent boys and girls than to have a little pocket money of their own.

Last August, when I talked heart-to-heart with some young Job Corps enrollees at Camp Kilmer in New Jersey who were high school dropouts and already had police records, I found that a main cause of their juvenile delinquency was lack of pocket money. Each boy said he had wanted a chance to earn some while at school, for his own personal needs and "to help out at home."

A few days ago, some newspaper reporters elicited astonishing facts from New York City Welfare Commissioner Mitchell I. Ginsberg. Between 65 and 70 per cent of the $660-million city welfare budget supports Negro and Puerto Rican minorities. Their main need, said the commissioner, is to receive the kind of training that could enable them "to get and keep jobs."

He said there are more than 150,000 children on the relief rolls, of whom a third are illegitimate. Commissioner Ginsberg said the object of welfare "is to get recipients off the welfare rolls."

But he admitted that there is an ever-increasing need for more and more welfare, and he also admitted there are many third-generation welfare recipients.

If welfare actually does what Commissioner Ginsberg says it should—"get recipients off the welfare rolls"—then how come our nation has millions of third-generation welfare recipients?

The Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D.C. recently released in Washington, D.C. its first official annual report. Read it and weep! Then go out to collect some ashcans. They are urgently needed as repositories for some welfare theories being applied to our nation since the 1930s that should have been junked long ago because they were totally impractical and unavailing.

Had these theories been effective, then the OEO annual report would not state that there are now in the United States "millions of third-generation welfare recipients." The OEO doesn't say how many millions; but if the statistics aren't exaggerated, then the number "millions" is best proof of national need for ashcans.

"Progressive" ideas about education propounded by such hard-core liberals as Eleanor Roosevelt and Walter Reuther have gotten America's schools in such a state that large numbers of dropouts and Job Corps applicants are inevitable.

Do our sociologists, educationists and professional do-gooders ever exercise any honest self-evaluation and self-criticism? We taxpayers ought to send them a huge supply of ashcans so they can sort out the trash from the worthwhile in their multi-billion-dollar programs, then junk the trash in the ashcans where it belongs.

I have a great deal of sympathy for the low-income families claiming that the present welfare programs don't really help them in an effective, constructive way. They are innocent victims of the theorists who destroyed discipline and literacy in the big city public school education system and wrecked our vocational education system.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

Government Quietly Reviews 30,000 Contracts To Insure Members of Minorities Are Recruited

By VICTOR RIESEL

Quietly, the White House is pushing a crash campaign to cool off the long hot summer. It is President Johnson's way of keeping his pledge to Negro leaders that tens of thousands of new, well-paying, skilled jobs would be opened to their followers in fields minorities rarely have penetrated.

Efforts are being made, as near as humanly possible, to summon every contractor who does any business with the federal government to a "PIA interview." (PIA is "in" jargon for Predominant Interest Agency.)

Of course, the contractor is asked to pledge he'll hire workers who are Negroes or from other minorities. But this is just the beginning. They may not come to the door. Thus, if they are not readily available, the contractor pledges he will go out and find them somewhere, somehow. The burden is upon him.

This columnist was told that the government actually is reviewing about 30,000 contracts a year—worth about $35 billion annually. The task is awesome.

Though the pressure program is handled by each contracting agency—such as the General Services Administration, or the Veterans' Administration or the Army Corps of Engineers, it is directed by a tiny task force of 41 men and women. They operate deep in the U.S. Department of Labor in a center called the Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

As the centralized direction moves upward in the chain of command, it funnels through the dedicated secretary of labor, Willard Wirtz, and on to the White House and Lyndon Johnson himself.

The project's fantastic scope does not prevent long and detailed interviews—an endless series of pre-award reviews. The constant chain of parleys seeks "affirmative action" on the part of the businessmen.

Thus they must not only agree to end restrictions. They must do something "affirmative" about it which will satisfy the policy and advice given by the Compliance Office.

This column's survey of employer action discloses that some contractors have literally gone to the church for Negro workers. The business people have joined with the clergy in Negro communities and addressed parishioners.

The manpower seekers have urged Negroes in community groups as well as churches to get into construction and learn the trade. They have told them not to worry about union restrictions. They have asked them to come and be personally directed.

One contractor's official said that there have been cases where corporation executives "actually"—repeat, "actually"—have led workers by the hand and arm to recruiting offices and employment centers where Negro workers have been sought.

This is not restricted to Negroes.

All minorities—Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans as well—are discussed in the pre-award interviews.

This operation "cool-off," which is the description used by one anonymous federal spokesman, parallels the traditional drive against the restriction of Negro hirings. It works somewhat in this fashion:

Suppose the General Services Administration is constructing a small federal building somewhere. Bids go out. The lowest bidder finally is called in. He faces an interviewer who wants to know what the contractor will do "affirmatively."

Will he submit his proposals in writing?

It will not be sufficient to say that he will hire all who are qualified who come to his hiring shack. He must submit specific proposals for finding minority workers if they are not available in his community, his city, or even his state.

This then becomes part of the agreement. If the contractor does not satisfy the hearing officer, he loses the job, even if he is low bidder. Sometimes the signature is held up, or he returns again and again for discussions.

Of course, this means that the contractor could say that he must go through a union hiring hall, and that he will be struck if he goes out and gets non-union Negro labor.

The compliance policy then is to pressure the union. If the labor leaders don't comply, the Labor Department can go to the Justice Department for court action. This they have done.

Naturally, union chiefs have complied. Some three weeks ago they talked directly to Willard Wirtz. He is caught in the middle. He does not want to by-pass unions. But neither will he permit the summer to get overheated.

And the project is here to stay, even when the long cold winter comes.

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REP. VERNON THOMSON (R.-Wis.) has introduced a concurrent resolution asserting that it is the sense of Congress that the President take whatever steps are necessary to force the French government to make "full and prompt settlement" on World War I debts it owes the United States. Thomson said the French owe the United States $4.6 billion from World War I and $7.4 billion from the Second World War.

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POTOMAC FEVER—"A tunnel leading nowhere turns up under the expensive Rayburn Building in Washington. It's essential—to store all those congressional statements promising to cut wasteful government spending."—By Jack Wilson.

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French officials sign the armistice with the Viet Minh on July 21, 1954 following the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu. Looking on are the Vietnamese Communists.

The French Blunder in Viet Nam

If President Johnson continues his tough policy, Gen. de Gaulle will have a very bitter bill to swallow

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

It is safe to say now that, barring a collapse of American backbone, the war in Viet Nam is being won by the anti-Communist side. This should be good news for America's allies in Europe, but only West Germany is rejoicing. In France the mood is one very akin to mourning, and this feeling is shared by both the government and the so-called opinion leaders.

There are several factors at work in the general pervasive gloom that envelops Paris. Some of these I have seen operative at first hand and others are reported to me by excellent private sources that have kept me informed as the situation has developed. They do little honor to the French spirit.

The first of these factors derives from France's subconscious realization that it failed sadly in its own war against the Vietnamese Communists. There has been much talk of the heroic defense of Dien Bien Phu by French forces and there is no doubt that the troops fought bravely in that great battle for Indo China. But France had already lost the war when it made its last stand—lost it because the people at home, in and out of government, did not want to fight.

Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese Communists are aware of this and have been seeking to divide American public opinion, to instill defeatism in us. This is the only way they could possibly win. The French, however, have argued all along—in order to explain their defeat—that the Vietnamese war is "militarily" hopeless for the United States and the South Vietnamese.

I was in Paris last February when the tide had slowly begun to turn against the Viet Cong puppets of the North Vietnamese Reds. But important Frenchmen—those who help mould public opinion—argued with that impatient irony typical of their country that the war was lost. The reports from Saigon and Washington were brushed aside as "American propaganda." Not only were they false, I was told, but they were impossible.

"France learned what your country refuses to recognize," I was told. "In a war of that nature, defeat for your country is inevitable. You are in retreat right now, but you won't admit it." I quoted what military experts had said to me in Washington, but they smiled pityingly.

To see America winning is, therefore, a blow to French pride. But the French are also a very practical race. And they see in the upsurge of American military fortunes in Viet Nam a very serious blow to the strategy that President Charles de Gaulle and his government devised. This strategy was based on the assumption of an American defeat.

The Gaullists, certain that the United States would be forced to withdraw, counted on the catastrophic decline in American prestige in Southeast Asia. By posing as friends of the North Vietnamese Communists, the French hoped to take over as the most favored of Western nations in that region. France still has a toehold there, and the Gaullists saw a return to glory, with great economic advantages of trade and influence, for themselves.

The advantages for France would not be solely local—or so the Gaullists hoped. Former French colonies, still tenuously linked to Paris, are now the targets of Chinese Communist subversion and infiltration. By cuddling up to Asia's Reds, the French foolishly believed that they could come to an understanding with Peking over spheres of influence in Africa. This would enhance their bargaining position with Moscow and give Charles de Gaulle room to maneuver in his "Yankee Go Home" campaign for Western Europe.

Unfortunately for President de Gaulle, the Marines landed—so to speak—in South Viet Nam. Both international and domestic necessity led President Johnson to counter increased Communist pressure by sending adequate reinforcements, by bombing North Viet Nam, and most recently by making that bombing militarily effective.

The French, who had been publicly commiserating with us over the negative course of the Viet Nam fighting—and privately expressing satisfaction—have been outraged by the determination increasingly shown by the President—a determination that belatedly matches the American people's.

The North Vietnamese know now that they cannot win. Their major ally, Red China, has shown less and less stomach for taking on the United States. The Soviet Union's bluster has been feeble. A stalemate becomes likely only if the policies of Senators Fulbright and Bobby Kennedy are followed, and few expect that in Washington. The only way for them to achieve anything is to call for negotiations and to make use of them militarily, as the North Koreans did. For the French, this means a major revision of their Southeast Asian strategy, and for M. de Gaulle, that's a very bitter pill.

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Javits for Vice President?

From the Arizona *Republic*

Since the New York *Times* and Jacob Javits decided, at approximately the same time, that Javits was the best available Republican candidate for the vice presidency in 1968, the propaganda drums have been busy beating out the message to any who will listen.

The only drawback is that Javits is not a Republican, which is of course what endears him to the hearts of those who have worked so diligently to eliminate any meaningful distinctions between the two parties. That is, he is not a Republican by any standard other than the fact that he chooses to call himself a Republican even while amassing a voting record far more liberal than that of all but a very few Democrats.

Javits, for all his vote-getting ability in New York, is the only Republican senator who has ever earned a perfect 100 for his voting record from the far-left Americans for Democratic Action. He has, observed *Time*, a "down-the-line liberal voting record." He "outDemocrats most Democrats."

He has voted against Taft-Hartley. He voted against the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He sponsored legislation waiving literacy requirements in English for voters. He has consistently supported every big-spending measure that has come before Congress. And he has forthrightly rejected the traditional Republican philosophy of limited government.

Furthermore, Javits, who has consistently voted against the Republican party, refused to support the Republican presidential candidate in 1964.

All this would seem to be reason enough for Republicans to consider the Javits candidacy about as likely as the candidacy of Harold Stassen. Nevertheless, the propagandists are talking as though Javits were somehow entitled to the office merely because he is eager to possess it.

A Javits candidacy probably would help the Republicans in urban areas. But any such gain would be more than offset by defections by Republicans who reject his liberalism, and by loyal Republicans who do not cherish Javits' disloyalty to the party he would claim to represent.

It is also implied that a Javits candidacy would aid Republicans because the New York senator is Jewish. Again, however, we fail to see how the expected gain would offset the opposition of Republicans who care not at all that Javits is Jewish but who care a great deal that he has nothing in common with Republicanism.

Hopefully, when the Republicans get around to picking a vice presidential candidate for 1968, they will demand qualifications more meaningful than a candidate's desire for the office.

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AH, FOR THE GOOD OLD DAYS— Formerly known as "these trying times." By Al Musser in the *Jaybee Upsondowns*

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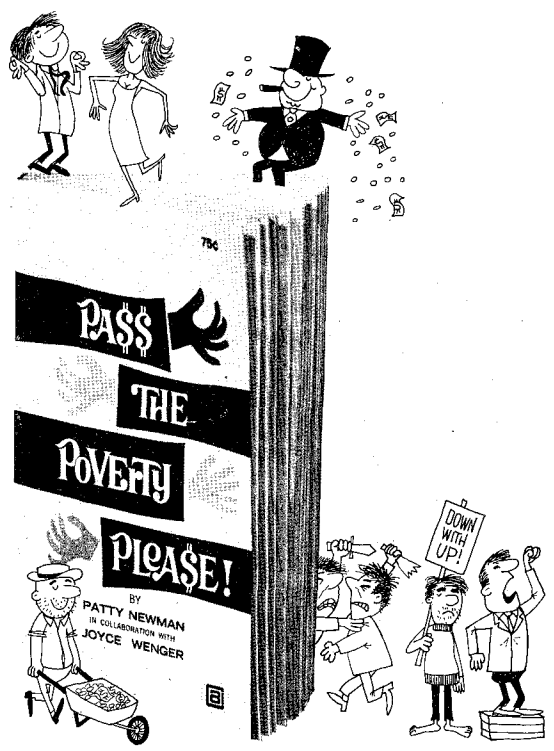

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All the Ballyhoo Is Over

Mississippi March Rated Another Civil Rights Failure

By GEORGE SCHUYLER

(George S. Schuyler is an American, a Negro, and a conservative. And he thinks that the tactics, and often the motivation, of the civil rights leadership are wrong. In this article he attacks the Mississippi March as a gigantic flop, having done more harm than good. Mr. Schuyler, the author of Black No More, *has been editor and correspondent for Negro newspapers for more than 40 years.)*

The recent much-ballyhooed black-and-tan march through Mississippi was an embarrassing and ignominous flop. The professional Negro agitators—protected by the minions of the Department of Justice and state police, and accompanied by a swarm of news reporters and cameramen—meandered through the long-suffering state but succeeded only in making Negroes look ridiculous and pathetic.

Designed as a demonstration of "Black Power," it demonstrated just the opposite. Financed by Northern white money, this ragtag "army" of black Pied Pipers never recruited more than a couple of hundred hoofers. The number was swelled to a few hundred more as the column afflicted the towns en route, but so would have any traveling column of clowns and confidence men.

To reassure their Northern white directors, the leaders flew back periodically to declare their militancy and to cadge more coin.

Black Mississippians needed no such demonstration in behalf of "Black Power" and "freedom." They operate 101,000 farms in the state. As owners and part-owners, their farms average 87 acres and there are more of them than elsewhere in the South. Beginning with the pre-World War I boll weevil scourge, the sharecroppers—black and white—have consistently declined in number, and mechanization and crop diversification have done the rest.

The Negroes' farms are largely equipped with agricultural machinery. They are readily able to get crop loans, and own their homes, automobiles, businesses and insurance companies; and the "white power structure" is not preventing them from acquiring more. It was not fear but the arrant foolishness of the pedestrian parade from Memphis to Jackson which deterred Negroes from joining it.

The Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches and the Reuther-controlled Freedom Democratic party have been busily hunting homeless peasants to organize into unions and voting blocs. However, most intelligent Negroes displaced by the changes in farming have long since departed for the cities, North and South, and needed no strangers to tell them what to do. The mentally alert avoided the "long hot summer" of 1964 when the beatnik invasion was launched by CORE, SNICK, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the NAACP and the National Urban League, aided by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Any doubt of the general Negro understanding of the motivation of these uproars was dispelled by the petty turnout for the final demonstration before the state capitol in Jackson, when a maximum of 12,000 turned out to hear the amphigories of Dr. King and see the personalities from afar whom television had featured.

This in a city containing more than 50,000 Negroes in its metropolitan area, and many of those attending the gathering were from out of the state, eager to egg on the "revolt."

Quarreling their way down the state highway, the vaunted unity of the civil righters was exposed time and again, as they were unable to establish their official slogan as "freedom" or "Black Power." Many could not agree with Stokely Carmichael, young and mixed-up chairman of SNICK, that "We will bring them [whites] to their knees every time they mess with us," nor his talk of "tearing down courthouses," which the more reasonable could not stomach.

In the revolutionary manner, a manifesto was drawn up which the heads of all participating organizations were asked to sign. It demanded that President Johnson send federal voting examiners into 600 Southern counties (and thus imperil the Southern white Democratic vote for 1968), make sweeping changes in the pending civil rights bill, and give more massive handouts to Negroes.

The NAACP, the only one of the civil rights organizations with significant Negro backing, demurred and was barred from the Jackson platform. Whitney Young Jr. of the National Urban League did not admit signing it, but the other leaders present said he would not have been permitted to speak if he had not. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, who has recently been doing some second-thinking about the association's playmates, did not show up, nor did the venerable Dr. Ralph Bunche.

Wilkins had already called the Jackson demonstration a "spot activity" that hurt the civil rights movement, and said "we don't need marches. We don't need projects. We don't need arguments with police officers in order to conduct a voter registration drive. And that's what we're going to do," pointing out that a recent campaign had registered 35,800 Mississippi Negroes.

Certainly, if that many Negroes were registered without fanfare or difficulty, one wonders why James Meredith thought he should walk from Memphis to Jackson to prove to Mississippi Negroes that there was nothing to fear. The marchers who roamed the adjacent countryside registered only a few score Negroes despite (or because of) the nationwide publicity.

However, if all Mississippi Negroes were so registered from Tennessee to the Gulf it would not materially affect the political picture because they have been, like the whites, exhorted to vote on racist grounds; and with Negroes outnumbered it would be a standoff.

At no time during their pixilated parade have the agitators urged Negro voters to follow any other political philosophy. None has advised that these voters support the growing Republican organization so that there might be a healthy two-party system.

Nevertheless, in recent primary elections in the South, Negroes have consistently voted white county officials into office rather than the colored candidates. The hoary Red goal of self-determination for the Black Belt, plugged assiduously since the 1928 6th World Congress of the Comintern, was to be realized piecemeal by taking over predominantly Negro counties. Apparently Negroes have smelled the rat of Communist control, with loss of property, farms, automobiles and refrigerators.

The interracial radicals have completely misunderstood the mind of Dixie, black and white, and have sought by forcible feeding to change local political appetites. The Negroes do not crave black government but good government; and there is no absolute guarantee of that in a tarbrushed officialdom per se.

The Negroes know the white people in their neighborhoods, towns and counties, and they know the good from the bad in both races. Given the access to and privacy of the voting booth, they will vote for whom they deem to be the better candidate, regardless of color. This they did long before the current crop of agitators was born, and they will do it again without the advice and instruction of the subsidized sorcerer's apprentices among them (who, incidentally, have accomplished no miracles in their Northern sanctuaries).

What this country needs is an end to agitation, disturbances and provocations. If there ever was any excuse for it, there is none now. Andrew J. Brimmer, member of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System, and himself a Negro, pointed up some recent statistics illustrating the general well-being of the people. Since 1961, the Negro employment rate has dropped from 12 per cent to 7 per cent. Between 1959 and 1964 some 153,000 Negro families moved across the poverty line ($3,000 annually); their median income rose 20 per cent to $3,839. The gain for whites generally was greater.

The disparity will narrow with more education and training, and the nation should bend its effort in that direction.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

Court's Inconsistency

By REP. ROBERT SIKES (D.-Fla.)

The Supreme Court has become so inconsistent and irrational that even the general public is increasingly aware of the fears which lawyers and jurists have had for several years, that the U.S. Supreme Court is undermining Justice. This situation has reached proportions where the public, through Congress, must demand counteraction to Supreme Court decisions which undermine police powers, favor criminals over their victims, and create favorable conditions for crime in an era of record lawlessness.

Captive Nations

By REP. EDWARD DERWINSKI (R.-Ill.)

Since 1959 the third week in July has been observed as Captive Nations Week throughout the country. The oppressed peoples of the captive nations look to the United States as the citadel of human freedom, and they maintain faith in the ultimate restoration of their freedom and independence. It is a fact that the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of peoples in Communist-controlled nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to any ambitions of Red leaders to initiate a major war. The international Communist conspiracy is the great threat to world peace and stability. True peace and freedom, which is the legitimate goal of all mankind, will come to Viet Nam, Cuba and other oppressed lands only when peoples are represented by governments of their own true choice. It is my strong personal conviction that the United States should reassert its leadership in the free world rather than follow the present policy of appeasing the Communist dictatorships in Europe. We can mount an effective propaganda, economic and psychological offensive against the Communist dictatorships. It is a tragedy to see young Americans being sacrificed on the battlefields of Viet Nam while the Administration attempts to subsidize the Communist dictatorships of the USSR and Eastern Europe through trade channels. This tragic inconsistency is one of the many reasons why we have lost face abroad and witnessed a deterioration in our foreign affairs.

Deficit's Price

By REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.)

Here are some facts and figures which tell their own story. Since 1961, the federal budget has not been balanced a single time. Said differently, in each of the last five years Uncle Sam has spent more than he has taken in, and the deficit has been added to the national debt. In that same five-year period, the annual interest payment on the debt has risen from $9 billion to $13 billion. It helps to put things in proper perspective to understand that this $4-billion increase would finance the school milk program (which the President asked Congress to curtail) for the next 40 years.

Another Power Grab

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Twelve years of progress in one important phase of soil and water conservation has been brought to a halt because of President Johnson's insatiable appetite for power. The Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act of 1954 stipulates that small watershed projects shall be submitted to the House and Senate agriculture committees for review and approval. This provision has worked well and without question for 12 years, but Lyndon Johnson has decided that the review procedure is unconstitutional and that he alone should be the final arbiter. On direct orders of the President, the Budget Bureau has refused to forward a single watershed project to the House and Senate committees this year. As Congressman Dole of Kansas put it: "This is simply another example of Administration indifference toward the nation's farmers and agriculture generally."

Credit Controls

By REP. JOHN DUNCAN (R.-Tenn.)

President Johnson wanted Congress to give him control of consumer credit on a standby basis so he could increase down payments and shorten repayment periods on consumer loans. With Republicans leading the fight against this, the President was refused this power by the House in a rollcall vote of 275 to 73. The provision had been offered as an amendment to the Defense Production Act.

New Boondoggle

'Rural Community Development'

By REP. JACK EDWARDS (R.-Ala.)

Another piece of "Great Society" legislation is soon due to be presented for consideration in the House of Representatives.

It is a bill called "Rural Community Development." It is designed to look good, but does not stand up well under close examination.

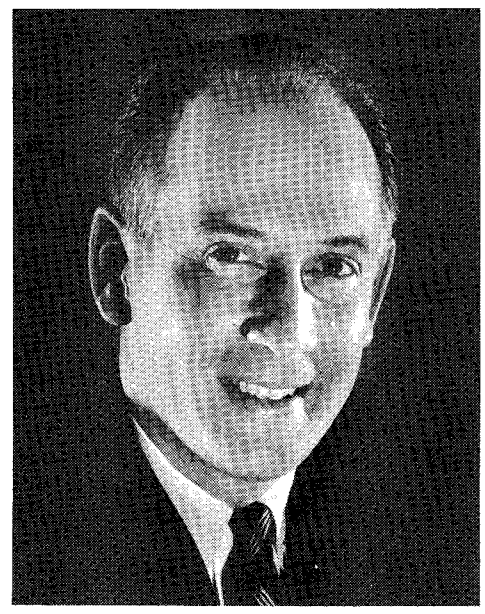
Every one of us favors actions which provide real help to rural communities without the imposition of unreasonable federal control. But this new proposal of LBJ and Secretary of Agriculture Freeman does not really give help, and instead it simply rearranges the bureaucratic structure of existing programs.

It is an attempt by the Agriculture Department to impose its authority over the operation of programs which now are administered by other agencies.

Under the terms of this bill a rural area would first establish itself as a development district and define the boundaries of the district itself. If Washington didn't like the way the district was set up, that would be the end of the program for that area.

If Washington OK'd the district, then a grant could be given. But the money would not be used for actual development. It would be only for planning how to get and to organize other federal assistance programs.

After studying the idea, one member of the House Agriculture Committee said, "This bill as written is subsidizing somebody to learn more efficient means of getting their hands into Uncle Sam's pocket."



Rep. Edwards

The Administration would plan to start the program on a relatively modest scale, costing only $5 million the first year. But that would be what is called "seed money"; the big costs come later. One estimate is that it would cost $24 million a year in just 100 selected counties.

And this cost would be only for planning how to get more federal money.

U.S. Must Keep Canal Control

By REP. THOMAS PELLY (R.-Wash.)

On Sept. 24, 1965, President Johnson announced that certain provisional areas of agreement had been reached with Panama on the basis of which negotiations for new agreements as to the Panama Canal would proceed.

One of these would replace the treaty signed in 1903. A second would contain a military status of forces agreement, and the third would relate to construction of a new sea-level canal.

It should be recognized that the President has in mind to insure that Panama will share with the United States responsibility in the administration, management and operation of the canal.

Rep. Pelly

It seems clear that for better or worse, under any new treaty arrangements with Panama, the United States would surrender its sovereignty.

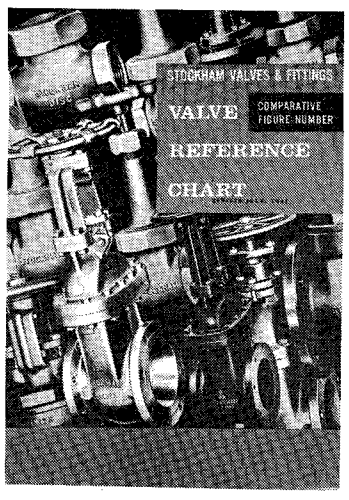
If a new sea-level canal was constructed, the present Canal Zone would be reintegrated with Panama. Until its completion, the two countries would share administration.

At the appropriate time, the American people must evaluate any such new arrangements. Meanwhile, however, it should be remembered that financial benefits to Panama's economy from existing U.S. jurisdiction exceed $100 million a year. This does not include the $1.93 million in cash paid annually by the United States under the treaty of 1955. Nor does it include the contribution we make through foreign aid, which has averaged close to $20 million a year since 1960.

While I have my fingers crossed on sharing management of the canal with Panama, I suggest one "must"—the United States must retain a veto power. Otherwise, in the event of a Communist takeover, we could easily have an impasse on policy.

A new sea-level canal could cause a serious economic impact on Panama, but I suppose—and perhaps rightfully so—Uncle Sam will pick up the chits, even though other nations share the benefits.

Every international agreement we sign, in one form or another, turns out to be another foreign aid program. Americans are a long-suffering people.



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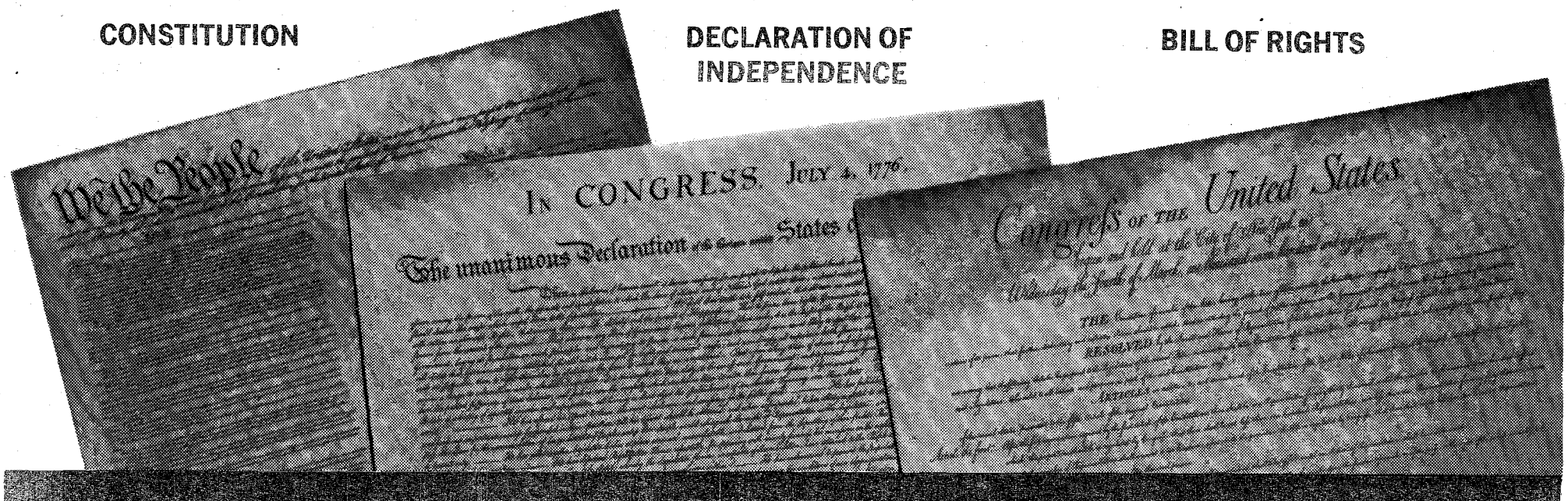

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